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OF MEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS

THOMAS CARLYLE.

from the Bust by Sir J. E. Boehm, R.A

MONTAIGNE

AND OTHER ESSAYS

CHIEFLY BIOGRAPHICAL.

BY

THOMAS CARLYLE.

Now first collected.

WITH FOREWORD BY

S. R. CROCKETT.

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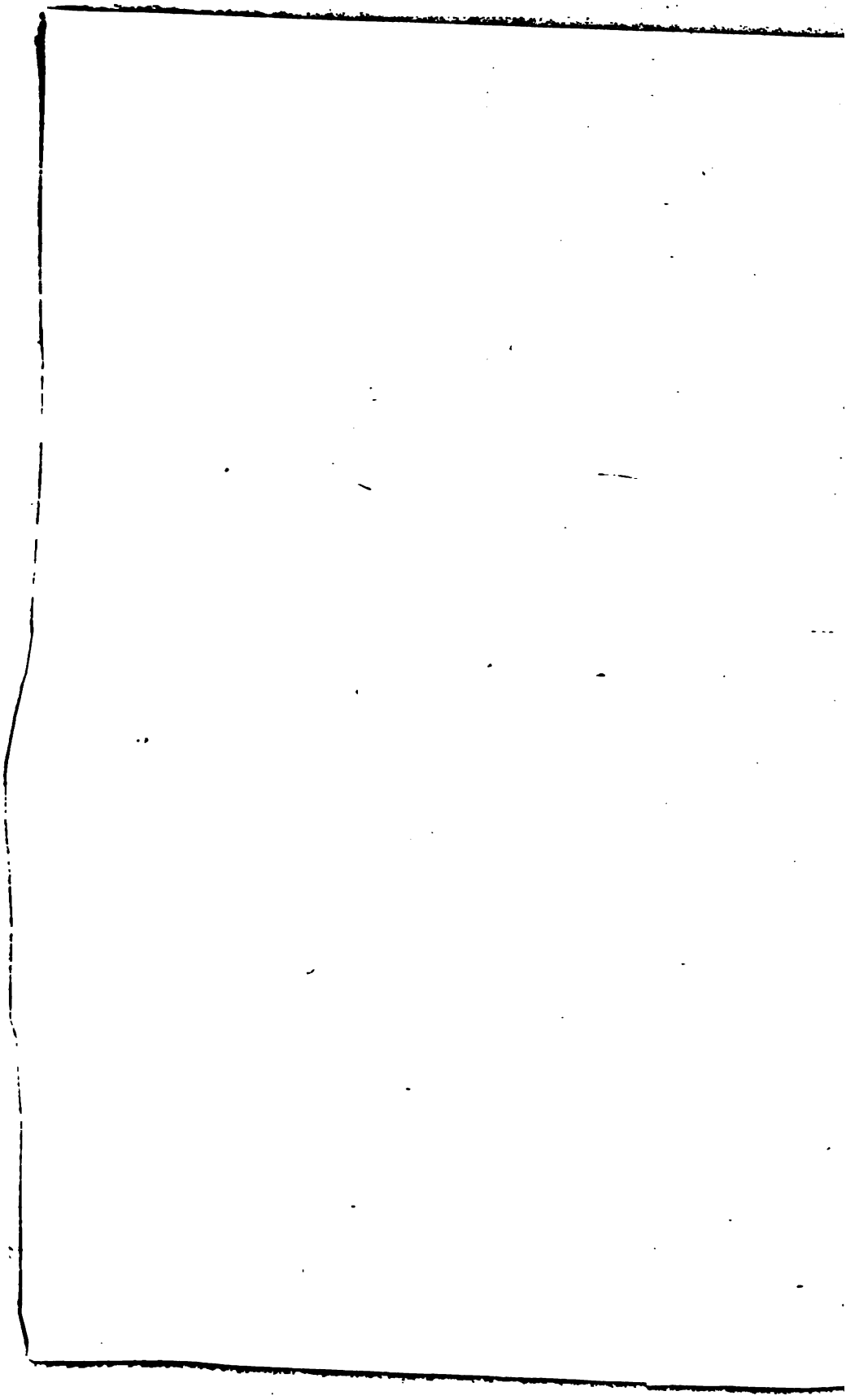

MONTAIGNE

AND OTHER ESSAYS.

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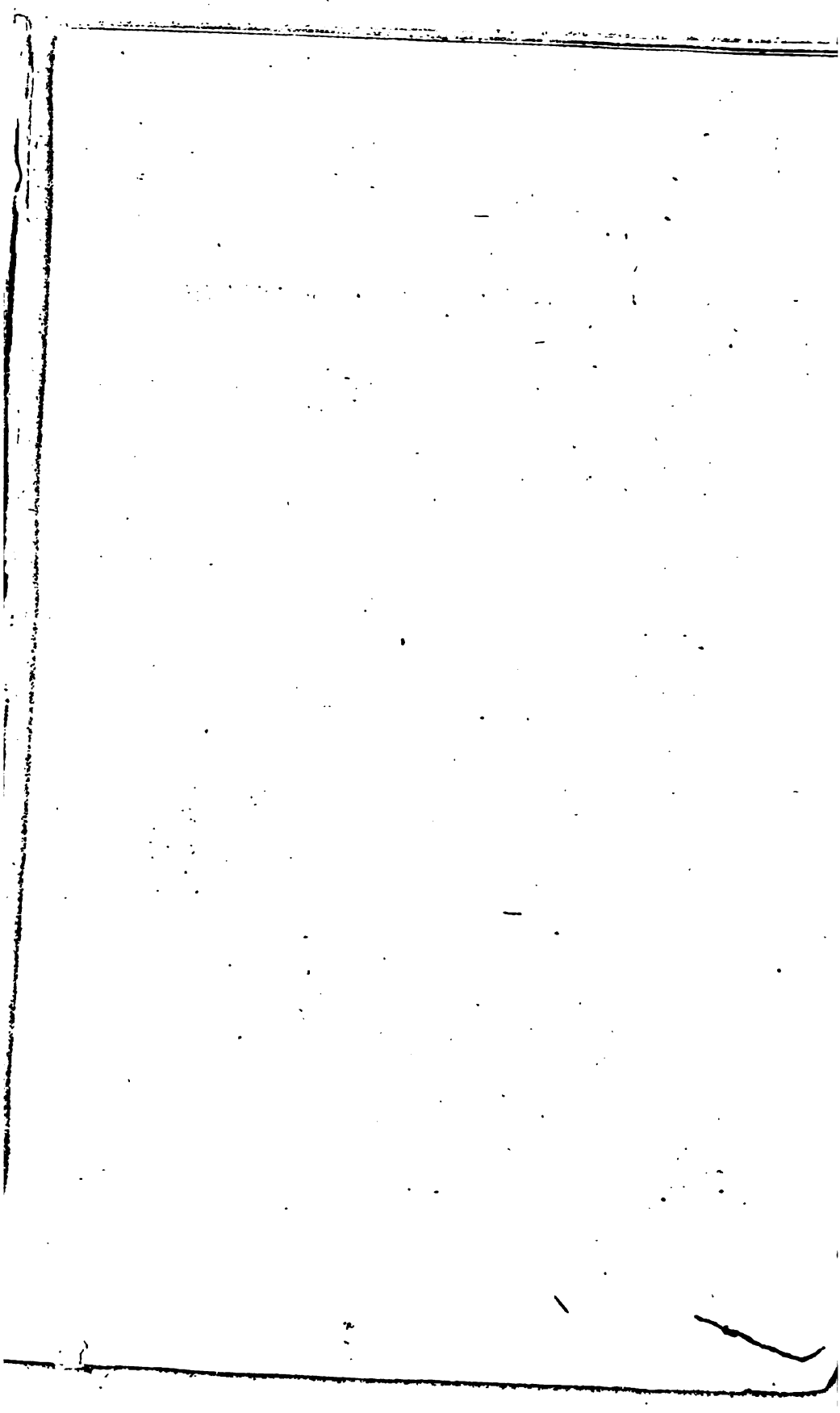

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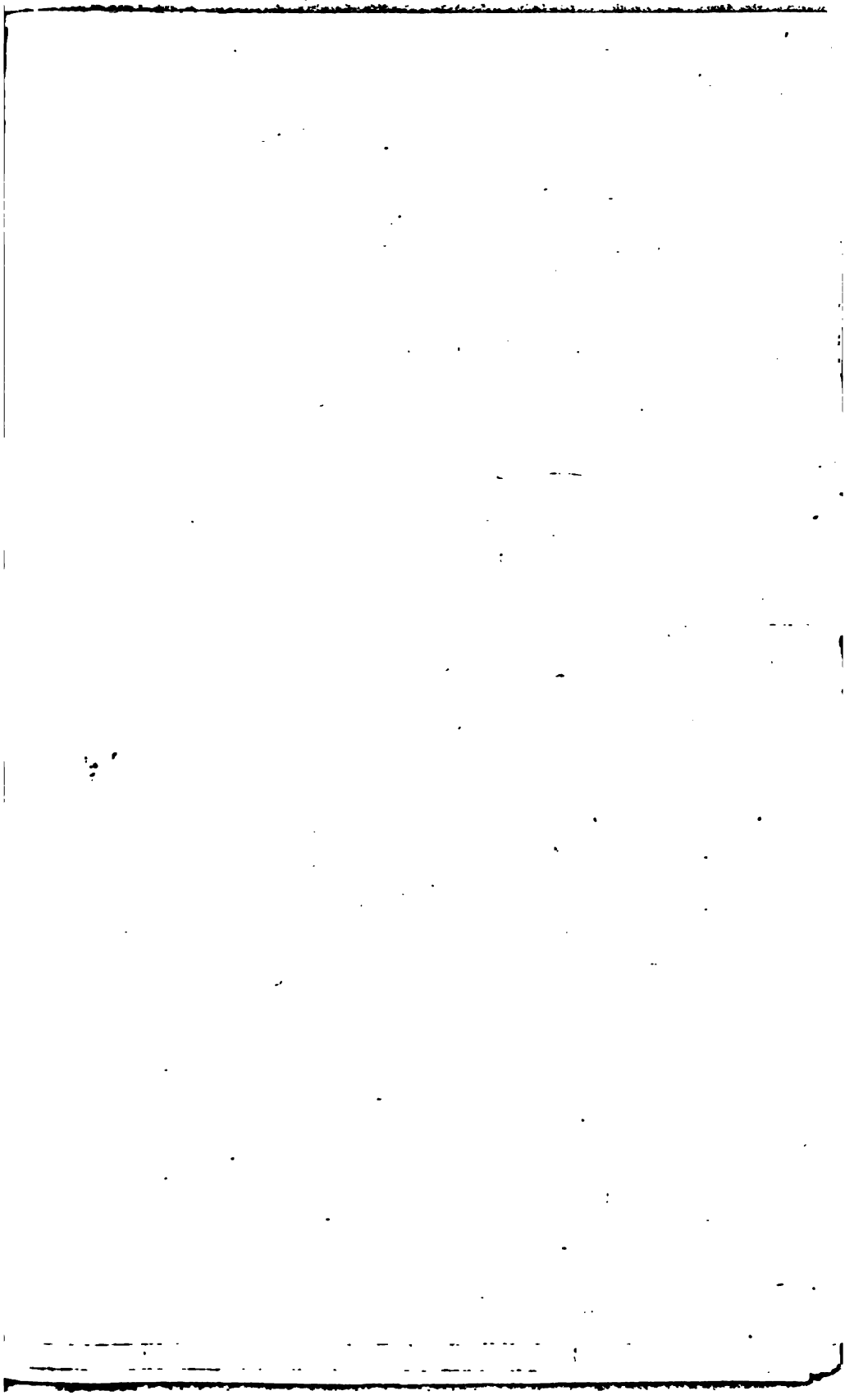
PUBLISHERS' NOTE.

THESE Essays were contributed by Thomas Carlyle to Brewster's "Edinburgh Encyclopædia" between 1820 and 1823, and have not previously appeared in book form.

The Essay on Montucla has not hitherto been noticed by bibliographers; but as it is, like some of the others, signed "T. C.," and from internal and other evidence the proofs of authorship seem conclusive, it has been deemed advisable to include it as an Appendix.



FOREWORD.

—✻—

FOR the love of Scotland's other "inspired peasant," the Annan dalesman, him of the burning stomach and the honest, forth-looking, irascible eyes, I cannot refuse to say a word in preface of this book of his collected prentice work. Perhaps in some moods I would rather it had not been published at all; but since it is printed and will be published with or without my poor say-away of advertisement, I would e'en rather do it myself, than leave the inevitable introductory words to be said more wisely, more learnedly, but perhaps somewhat less lovingly, by another.

The idols of men's later hearts depend greatly upon what their opening minds found worshipful. For me, I was a boy in the days when the People's Edition of Carlyle was struggling from the press in slim brown volumes, every turn and

twist of the black pattern on whose boards I can see as I shut my eyes, aye—and the very glint of the sun through the narrow barn wickets upon the rustling corn-mow in the barn where, alone with the furtive rat, I first read them. Dear books, light to the hand, kindly to the pocket, blessed be the publishers who published you; blessed be the grey-haired, well-read bookseller, lame of foot but wise of head, who sold you to me on Market Mondays in the little town of Castle Douglas; and above all, specially blessed be the memory of him who so patiently taught me to read you and to get some glimmering of your meaning—the man of whose wistful unfaltering heart I have written elsewhere as "The Stickit Minister."

So since these far days Thomas Carlyle has always been to me "the first of those who know," my greatest incentive to faithful, if journeyman work, and (perhaps because he was the next thing to a Galloway man), the writer whose nature and environment I see most completely and adequately expressed in his works.

On this last account especially, I am glad that these honourable craftsman Essays, upon which

the Author counted so little, have in after times found a publisher willing to reprint them. I respect his brave heart and bid good-speed to his daring venture. I will not pretend that I have read every word of them; but I do bear witness that the brief lives of Montesquieu, Montaigne, the Moores, and Mungo Park are brimful of that wise, determinate sagacity of judgment, cast into the mould of clean-cut sentences, which distinguished Carlyle's earlier style from the tumultuous Isaiah vehemence of his later.

These "bread-and-butter" Essays were chiefly but not exclusively written at Mainhill in the late summer and autumn of 1820. Carlyle had brought a great bundle of work down with him, books to translate, articles for the *Edinburgh Review*, which, spite of grumbles, he was very willing to write for in consideration of any honest remuneration he might receive.

The Essay on Montesquieu reprinted here attracted the notice of Jeffrey, and led to the offer of work upon the great Whig Quarterly. Carlyle thought little of these Essays. "Wretched lives"

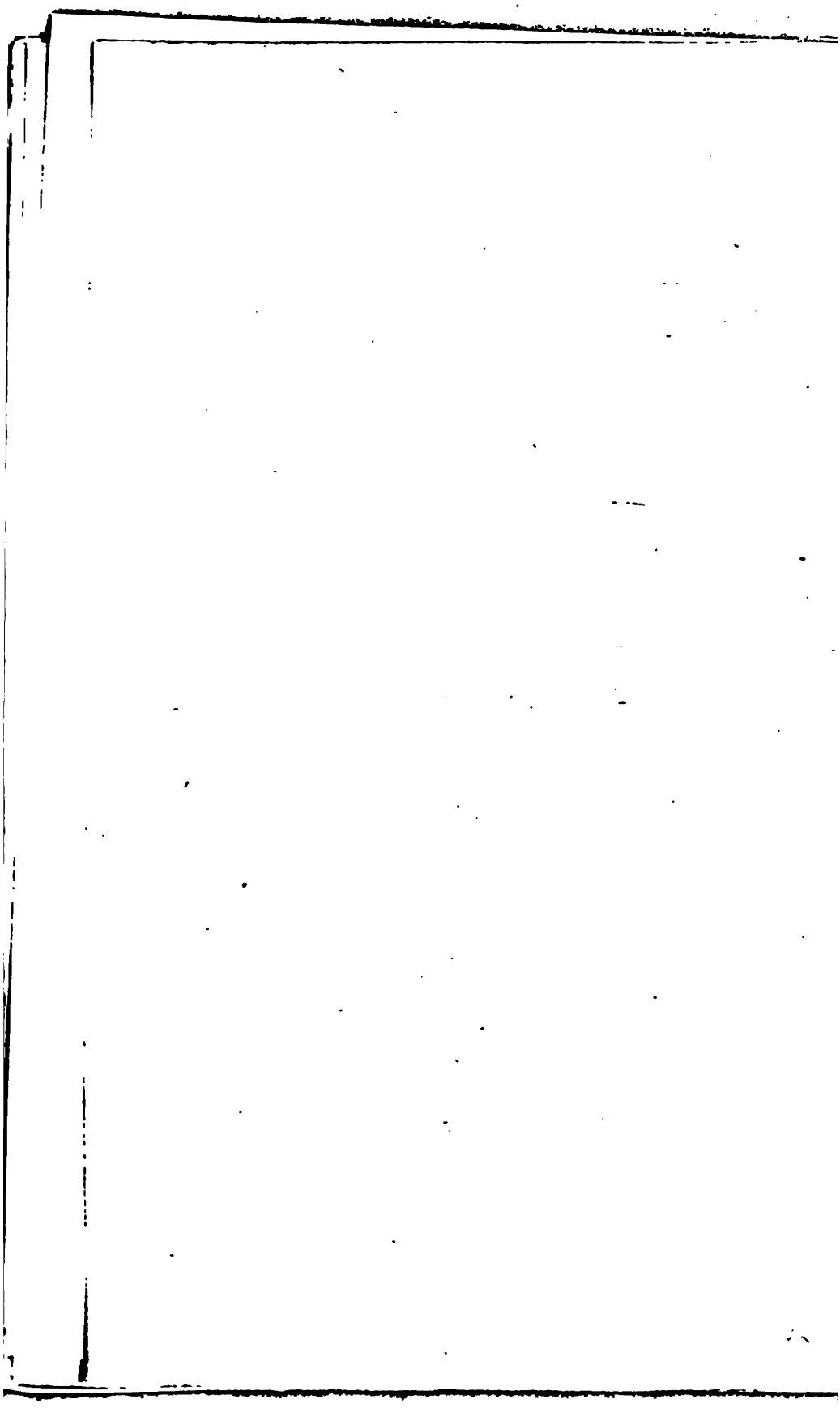
is his best word for them when he is bilious and the world is all gloom; but when in another place he confesses that he was seldom happier than when writing them, we may take his condemnation as he did his bile, "with a drop of oil and a grain of salt." We can see him in the little "ben" room of Mainhill by the mahogany desk, sitting down in the morning to a task which he felt he could accomplish. All the day till the late afternoon he would be busy, leaving time for a visit to the harvest field, with perhaps (when dared to it) a turn at the reaping-hook or scythe—then afterwards a long "dauner" over the moor in the twilight, with elf-locked Jean the Craw running to meet him on his return, as he came striding over the purple tussocks of heather and brown rustling "bent" which at that time covered the bare and wind-swept ridges.

Surely there is human interest in these sketches, "exercises" though they be. They are certainly not Carlyle's highest possible even at that time. But they are human, sympathetic, soulfully remunerative work. And doubtless the task of reading for them led him insensibly into the

wider fields of the Essays, and ultimately perhaps gave us "Heroes and Hero Worship" and "The French Revolution."

Also I find in most of them touches of the coming greatness. Sparks from the flint tell of the latent fire. Accents of ironic scorn come to our ears with something of the sting of that stormy Annandale voice which afterwards broke in upon so many babbling controversies, like the eagle's scream dispersing the chatter of a jay convention.

And after all preface of derogation, these Essays remain fragments of honest, clear-lined, honourable workmanship. I like to think of the young author writing them in the peasant's but-and-ben, and especially of his father beginning to respect him more when he showed him one after the other good Sir David Brewster's fifteen-guinea cheques, and bought for him that pair of marvellous spectacles with the first. I have the greater fellow-feeling, that I know one man who never expects to be happier than when he threw his first hard-earned ten-pound-note into his mother's lap.



MONTAIGNE.

—✻—

MONTAIGNE (MICHAEL DE), a celebrated French writer, was born at the Chateau de Montaigne, near Bergerac, upon the Dordogne, on the 28th of February 1533. He was the third son of Pierre Eyquem, a man of rank and probity, who appears to have discharged the paternal duties with extraordinary care. Young Michael was awakened every morning by soft music, lest sudden excitation might injure his health; and a German domestic, unacquainted with the French language, taught him to express his first ideas in Latin. At the age of six years he was sent to the College of Bourdeaux, then conducted by the most celebrated preceptors in France, one of whom was our distinguished countryman George Buchanan. Montaigne's knowledge of Latin, acquired in a manner so uncommon, was here of some avail to him; and though we may be allowed to doubt his assertion, that the masters "were afraid to accost him," the instructions of his nurse must have materially contributed to form that minute and extensive acquaintance

Feb. 28, 1533

1539

I am therefore glad to think that the work which produced the spectacles and the fast-beating, prideful, filial heart is not to be buried in the densely piled, double-columned *débris* of the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia," but may now stand printed plain and fair on any man's shelf who, for the sake of the full-fed herd, loves even these firstlings of the flock.

S. R. CROCKETT.

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with classical literature, and that strong tinge of Latinity, for which his writings are so remarkable.

After seven years occupied in such studies, Montaigne, with the view of becoming a lawyer, engaged in the requisite course of preparation; but his love of jurisprudence and his progress in that science appear to have been equally small. The Parliament of Bordeaux seldom witnessed his official exertions; and after his elder brother's death, from the stroke of a tennis-ball, he gladly exchanged the advocate's gown for the sword of a country gentleman. A short time after 1560, he married Francoise, daughter of a celebrated pleader, Joseph de la Chassagne; and possessing the Chateau de Montaigne, which his father bequeathed to him in 1569, enjoying a competent fortune and domestic happiness, he had full leisure to combine rural and intellectual employment in the most suitable proportion. Study seems, however, to have attracted nearly all his attention; riding afforded a healthful and favourite exercise; he lived remote from the political quarrels which at that period distracted his country; and few avocations enticed him from reading, or committing to paper such reflections as that reading excited, in whatever order they occurred. Before the decease of his father, Montaigne had translated the "Natural Theology" of Raymond de Sebonde; and in 1571 he superintended the

1560

posthumous publication of his friend, the Sieur de la Boëtie's works. He did not appear in the character of an original author till 1580, when the fruit of his meditations was published under the title of 'Essays,' at Bordeaux. Eight years afterwards, in a new edition prepared under his eye at Paris, the work was augmented by a third book, and many additions to the part already published.

1580

1588

In this singular production Montaigne completely fulfils the promise of "painting himself in his natural and simple mood, without study or artifice." And though Scaliger might perhaps reasonably ask, "What matters it whether Montaigne liked white wine or claret?" a modern reader will not easily cavil at the patient and good-natured, though exuberant, egotism which brings back to our view "the form and pressure" of a time long past. The habits and humours, the mode of acting and thinking, which characterized a Gascon gentleman in the sixteenth century, cannot fail to amuse an inquirer of the nineteenth; while the faithful delineation of human feelings in all their strength and weakness will serve as a mirror to every mind capable of self-examination. But if details, otherwise frivolous, are pardoned, because of the antique charm which is about them, no excuse or even apology of a satisfactory kind can be devised for the gross indelicacy which frequently deforms these Essays; and as Montaigne,

by an abundant store of bold ideas and a deep insight into the principles of our common nature, deserves to be ranked high among the great men of his own original age, he also deserves the bad pre-eminence in love at once of coarseness and obscenity.

The desultory, careless mode in which the materials of the Essays are arranged, indicates a feature in the author's character to which his style has likewise a resemblance. With him, more than with any other, words may be called the garment of thought; the expression is frequently moulded to fit the idea, never the idea to fit the expression. The negligence and occasional obscurity of his manner are more than compensated by the warmth of an imagination, bestowing on his language a nervousness and often a picturesque beauty which we should in vain seek elsewhere.

From the perusal of those Essays it is natural to infer that the author must have studied men, not only in the closet but the world. Accordingly we find that Montaigne had travelled over France, entertained the King in his chateau, and more than once visited the Court, where Charles IX. gratified him by spontaneously bestowing the collar of the Order of St. Michael. After the first publication of his Essays he did not long continue stationary. In this case, however, the desire of viewing foreign countries was but secondary to that of freeing himself from a nephritic disorder

which had afflicted him for several years, and which, having no faith in physicians, he sought to alleviate by the use of mineral waters. With this intention he left home in 1581, and, attended by several of his friends, traversed Lorraine, Switzerland, Bavaria, and Italy. From the baths of Plombiere, Baden, and Lucca, he came to Rome, where, among other honours that awaited him, he received the freedom of the city, and soon afterwards received intelligence that his countrymen of Bordeaux had elected him their mayor.* At the King's command he returned from Italy to undertake this office, and his constituents signified their approbation of his conduct in it by continuing his appointment for another two years. 1581

The remaining portion of Montaigne's life was chiefly spent in revising his Essays. It was disturbed by the tumults of the League, and finally by the ravages of the pestilence, which compelled him for a short period to leave his home. One of his last journeys was to Paris, for the publication of his works; and during his return he remained some days at Blois, to witness the pro-

* About fifty years ago a manuscript account of this journey was accidentally found in the chateau which Montaigne inhabited. Being ascertained to be his composition, it was published in 1774. But neither the curiosity attached to everything which bears the name of Montaigne, nor the learned notes of M. Querlon, are sufficient to make us relish the insignificant and often disgusting contents of a work that seems never to have been at all intended for meeting general inspection.

ceedings of the States-General, assembled there in 1588. He is said to have predicted to his friend, the famous de Thou, that Henry IV. would embrace the Catholic religion, and restore peace to France.

But the use of mineral waters had not banished Montaigne's hereditary distemper, and his constitution, weakened by it, was unable to sustain the attack of an inflammation of the throat which seized him in September 1592. On the 13th of that month the disorder had deprived him of the use of speech; but as his mental faculties remained unimpaired, he desired his wife, in writing, to send for certain of his neighbours, that he might bid them farewell. After the arrival of these persons mass was said in his chamber. At the elevation of the host, Montaigne, with an effort, raised himself upon his bed, and clasping his hands together, expired in that pious attitude. He had almost completed his sixtieth year.

The character of Montaigne is amply delineated in his Essays. On contemplating this picture, we are surprised to find the principles of a stoic incongruously mingled with the practice of an epicure, and the *pillow of doubt*, upon which during the flow of health he professed to repose, exchanged in sickness for the opiates of superstition. But notwithstanding these inconsistencies, it is impossible to avoid admiring the continued benignity and pensive gaiety which distinguished

his temper. The amiableness of his private life is attested by the fact that, under the five monarchs who during his time successively swayed the sceptre of a kingdom torn with fanatical divisions, his person and property were always respected by both parties, and few at an advanced age can say like him, that they are yet untainted with a quarrel or a lawsuit.

His Essays have been abridged, translated, and given to the world in various shapes. The most valued edition is that of London, 1724, in which the original expressions are scrupulously retained, and ably illustrated by the notes of M. Coste.

LADY MONTAGU.

—✱—

MONTAGU (LADY MARY WORTLEY), the eldest daughter of Evelyn Pierrepont, Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Kingston, was born at Thoresby, in Nottinghamshire, about the year 1690.* Though four years afterwards she lost her mother, the Lady Mary Fielding, daughter of William, Earl of Denbigh, her education was conducted with all the care which so promising a genius seemed to deserve. In addition to the usual accomplishments, she easily gained from the preceptors of her brother, Viscount Newark, a considerable knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, to which she soon added French and Italian. The famous Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, is said to have guided and encouraged her more advanced studies; a manuscript translation of Epictetus, which she executed during a week in the summer of 1710, yet bears the corrections of that distinguished prelate.

[* According to "The Dictionary of National Biography" (Vol. XXXVIII., p. 259), she was baptized at Covent Garden, 26th May 1689.]

Whilst making acquisitions—at that period so rare among persons of her sex and rank—the young lady continued principally at Thoresby, or at Acton near London. In these narrow circles her liveliness and spirits were already no less remarkable than her learning. Mrs., or as we should now say, Miss Ann Wortley, daughter of the Honourable Sidney Montagu, seems to have been her most intimate associate, and this early friendship gave rise to her acquaintance with a son of the same nobleman, Edward Wortley Montagu, to whom, after two years, she was privately married on the 12th of August 1712. The valuable, though not brilliant, qualifications of this gentleman were long exercised in Parliament, where his graceful manner and knowledge of business secured him considerable influence. At the period of his marriage, the fathers of both parties being alive, he could not offer his wife such an establishment as to permit her accompanying him to London during his political engagements. For the first three years of their union she lived chiefly at Wharncliffe Lodge, near Sheffield. But after the death of Queen Anne in 1714, when Charles Montagu, who conveyed the intelligence of that event to George I., had been raised from the dignity of Baron to that of Earl Halifax, and further created First Lord of the Treasury, that nobleman did not overlook the services of his cousin, Mr. Wortley, who soon obtained the ap-

pointment of commissioner in the same department. The nature of his office placed him in connection with the Court, and the appearance of Lady Mary, who now first visited that scene, attracted universal admiration. Her beauty and genius were praised, her conversation was coveted by the highest ranks of the nobility, and a more honourable tribute was paid to her talents in the esteem which she obtained from Pope and Addison.

The short-lived pleasures of such a scene had scarcely yet found time to lose their novelty, when Lady Mary was called to visit objects of a far more diversified and striking nature. In the summer of 1716 Mr. Wortley resigned his situation at the Treasury Board, in consequence of an appointment to occupy the place of Sir Robert Sutton, Ambassador at Constantinople, who had been removed to Vienna, and directed to co-operate with his successor in endeavouring to terminate the war between the Austrians and Turks, which at that time raged with extreme violence. In the month of August Mr. Wortley left England, and his lady did not hesitate to accompany him in a journey which, though tedious and not without hazard, promised to offer such a field for observation and enjoyment as great skill in modern languages and considerable acquaintance with classical antiquities rendered her well qualified to profit by. After leaving Holland and Germany the Embassy continued two

months at Adrianople. Sultan Achmed III., whom they found here, is said to have shown a more frank disposition and less solicitude about the Koran than usually happens with a Turkish prince. To this circumstance it is generally ascribed that Lady Mary was enabled to augment her acquaintance with Eastern manners by an examination of the Harem, never before or since permitted to any European.

The knowledge which she gathered respecting the habits and character of this people was minute, her mode of communicating it lively and entertaining. But Europe in general owes to her residence in Turkey a much more solid advantage than any such entertainment. Whilst passing the summer months at Belgrade, not far from the shores of the Bosphorus, Lady Mary had occasion to observe a custom practised by the peasants which was said to guard them from the effects of small-pox, a dreadful and at that time cureless malady. She examined the process of ingrafting or inoculation, as it was afterwards called, became convinced of its efficacy, and, with a courage for which humanity is deeply indebted, she consented to have the operation tried upon her son, at that time about three years old. Edward Wortley Montagu, afterwards so celebrated for his rambling eccentric character, sustained the experiment without hurt in the month of March 1718. The event encouraged his mother to form the hope of estab-

lishing a practice so salutary in her own country. It is well known that after a lapse of some years the zealous support which she bestowed on the attempts of Mr. Maitland, her physician, to introduce inoculation on his return to England, was at length crowned with success. In 1721 Government allowed five criminals to avoid the sentence of death by submitting to this process; the successful experiment was sanctioned by the College of Physicians; inoculation obtained the patronage of the Royal Family, and had finally triumphed over all opposition, when, eighty years afterwards, the more precious discovery of Jenner promised entirely to extirpate the disorder.

Lady Mary was not long detained from the society of her friends in England. Mr. Wortley's conduct was approved of both by the Courts of St. James's and Vienna; but owing to the exorbitant demands of the latter, his negotiations entirely failed. His letters of recall, countersigned by Addison, are dated 21st October 1717; and on the following 5th of June he and his family commenced their journey to Britain, where, after visiting Tunis, Genoa, Lyons, and Paris, they arrived on the 30th of October 1718.

At the Court of George I. Lady Mary was received with increased distinction. The celebrity arising from her travels, the fund of new ideas acquired in the course of them, the graphic and spirited mode in which she described what she

had seen, gave a new charm to her already fascinating conversation. She obtained particular notice from the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, and by her brilliant acquirements excited the praise or the envy of every competitor for such honours as the admiration of a Court can bestow. The excellence of her sprightly conversation had already been stamped by the approbation of Pope, and on her return from Turkey the poet appears to have manifested the continuance of that friendship which his lively though rather affected letters had so warmly expressed during her absence. He earnestly invited her to take up her residence at Twickenham, and had the pleasure of successfully negotiating a lease of Sir Godfrey Kneller's house for her reception. In this celebrated village Lady Mary could occasionally exchange the gaieties of fashionable life at London for the company of those celebrated characters who frequented the society of Pope, and diversify the flatteries of Dr. Young and her second cousin Henry Fielding, by the conversation of Swift, Gay, and Arbuthnot.

But the friendship of wits is proverbially fragile. In the case of Pope and Lady Mary its existence, rendered precarious by the conflicting claims of a vanity which on both sides sought gratification in the dangerous province of satire, was shortened by political hostility. Dissatisfied with the quantity of praise which the world bestowed on Pope for

correcting her productions, and which the poet, it was thought, did not steadily enough refuse, Lady Mary had for some time omitted consulting him on such occasions; and this coldness was increased at the accession of George II. by her avowed partiality for Sir Robert Walpole and her intimacy with Lord Hervey, which could not but offend a professed follower of Bolingbroke. The publication of the "Town Eclogues" completed this alienation. Lady Mary had several years before submitted these poems to Pope's inspection, and as the satire or scandal they were supposed to contain rendered them objects of general curiosity, copies were extensively circulated, and to print them became a fit speculation for the noted Edmund Curll. In spite of remonstrances and threats, the work came out under Pope's name, and Lady Mary, defrauded of praise and suspecting collusion, not only renounced all intercourse with him, but displayed the resentment of forfeited friendship in bitter sarcasms, which were too faithfully reported to the object of them. The irritable nature of Pope was little calculated to brook such treatment. His opinion of Lady Mary, under the name of Sappho, expressed in his satires with more rancour than taste or wit, called forth from his victim and her coadjutor, Lord Hervey—also stigmatised under the name of Sporus—those "verses addressed to the translator of the first Satire of the Second Book of Horace," the private

circulation of which produced a letter from Pope to his antagonists disavowing any such intention as the one imputed to him. Much has been said of the malignity displayed by Pope in this attack, and of the meanness with which he attempted to recede from it. Certainly the accusations brought against Sappho are of a character sufficiently black, and the author's equivocal statements about their application seem to argue considerable weakness of mind; but if, without investigating how far such accusations might be founded on truth, we condemn the man who, under the mask of a moralist, stoops to gratify his individual hatred, we are compelled at the same time to admit that his antagonists appear to have wanted the power rather than the will to be equally barbarous. It is matter of regret that the friendship of Pope and Lady Mary was converted into enmity; but the means adopted by the one party to satisfy that enmity were hardly less blameable than those adopted by the other. A fierce though dull execration of Pope's malice and deformity is but awkwardly blended with censures of his virulence and coarseness.

The quarrel with this formidable satirist produced disagreeable results for Lady Montagu. It no doubt contributed to spread those black reports about her character and conduct to which the many victims of her sarcastic pleasantry were at all times willing listeners. She still lived at Court

with the great and gay, sharing or directing their amusements, admired for the pungency of her wit and the sprightliness of her occasional verses, but her life seems not to have been happy. To other sources of solicitude, ill health was at last added, and in 1739, with Mr. Wortley's consent, she resolved to fix her abode in Italy. Passing through Venice, where much respect was shown to her, she visited Rome and Naples, and after having spent several months at Chamberry and Avignon, she finally settled at Brescia. From this city she afterwards removed to Lovere, on the northern shore of the Lake Iseo, for the benefit of its mineral waters, where, having purchased and refitted an elegant house, she divided her attention between reading and managing the concerns of her vineyard. With a small and select society she seems to have enjoyed more contentment in this retired situation than her former habits would have led us to expect. About the year 1758, however, she exchanged her solitude for the amusements of Venice, in which city she remained till 1761, the period of Mr. Wortley's death. She then yielded to the solicitations of her daughter, the Countess of Bute, and after an absence of twenty-two years she returned to England in the month of October. But her health had suffered much, and a gradual decline terminated in death on the 21st of August 1762.

Overawed by Pope and his associates, Lady

Mary had ventured to publish nothing during her lifetime. The "Town Eclogues," above alluded to were printed under Pope's name, and though his editors have continued to assign the "Basset Table" with the "Drawing Room" to him, and the "Toilet" to Gay, she seems in fact to have been the author of them all. Several of her other poems had appeared in different collections, but it was without her permission. If we may judge, however, from an expression employed in writing to her sister the Countess of Mar, it would seem that Lady Mary contemplated the posthumous publication of her letters; and towards the conclusion of her residence in Italy she had actually transcribed that part of them which relates to Mr. Wortley's Embassy. The manuscript, entrusted to Mr. Lowden, a clergyman at Rotterdam, was surreptitiously printed by Beckett in 1763; and the curiosity which it had long excited in the world was finally gratified by the publication of all her poems and letters in 1803. This edition, undertaken at the request of her grandson the Earl of Bute, was superintended by Mr. Dallaway, who prefixed to it a life of the author.

Concerning the merits of Lady Montagu's poems, it is not necessary to say much. Suggested chiefly by ephemeral topics, they seem to have been written without great care. They are not polished, but across their frequent harshness

and infelicity of expression we can easily discern considerable vivacity of conception, accompanied with some acuteness in discriminating character and delineating manners. It is to be regretted that they are not always free from indelicacy.

But Lady Mary's principal merit is to be sought for in her letters. Those written during the Embassy were loudly applauded at first, and they have since maintained a conspicuous place in this still scanty department of English literature. The official character of Mr. Wortley procured her admittance to whatever was splendid or attractive in every country which they visited. She seems to have been contented with herself, and therefore willing to be pleased with others; and her cheerful sprightly imagination, the elegance, the ease, and airiness of her style, are deservedly admired. Succeeding and more minute observers have confirmed the accuracy of her graphic descriptions. Her other letters are of a similar stamp. The continual gaiety, the pungent wit, with which she details the passing follies of a Court, but too successfully imitating that of Louis XV., render her letters extremely amusing. In those written from her retirement at Lovere, we discern the same shrewdness of observation, with a little more carelessness of expression. The pensive, calm regret which they breathe, and, above all, the tender affection for her daughter the Countess of Bute,

to whom they are generally addressed, perhaps more than compensate for the absence of that flow of spirits and exuberance of incident which distinguished the correspondence of her youth. In a literary point of view, Lady Mary's writings certainly do not belong to a very elevated class, but they occupy the first rank in their class. Considering the times and the circumstances of the writer, they may safely be called extraordinary. And though the general diffusion of knowledge within the last century has rendered it common for females to write with elegance and skill upon far higher subjects, Lady Mary deserves to be remembered as the first Englishwoman who combined the knowledge of classical and modern literature with a penetrating judgment and correct taste.

MONTESQUIEU.

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MONTESQUIEU (CHARLES DE SECONDAT, Baron of, and likewise of La Brede) was born at the mansion house of the latter estate, near Bourdeaux, on the 18th of January 1689. His father, at one time a soldier, had soon relinquished that profession, and young Montesquieu was early destined to the Bar, from which his paternal grandfather and uncle had successively risen to the dignity of *President à Mortier* * in the Parliament of their native province. His education was carefully attended to, and the flattering presages of childhood, being in this case followed by judicious management, were afterwards completely verified. On the 24th of February 1714, he became an advocate in the Parliament of Bordeaux, and the office of *President à Mortier* in that court was consigned to him by the uncle already mentioned, on the 13th of July 1716. He also inherited the property of that relation, who had lost an only son.

* Vice-President. *A mortier* relates to the species of cap worn by that officer.

The new President sustained the reputation which his predecessor had acquired. His colleagues showed what opinion they entertained of his address and integrity by charging him with the remonstrance, which they judged it proper to make, against the imposition of a new tax during the minority of Louis XV. in 1722. This delicate task he successfully accomplished.

But the attainment of professional honour was not the chief object of Montesquieu's ambition. Following the instinctive bent of genius, he was unwearied in acquiring general knowledge, and his vigorous mind seems at an early period to have conceived the germ of those ideas which he afterwards so brilliantly developed in his writings. Before the age of twenty he had studied, with higher views than those of a mere lawyer, the voluminous works which treat of Roman jurisprudence; his regular abstract of their contents was probably the ground-work of the *Esprit des Lois*. But though already cherishing the hope of fame, he felt no impatience to show himself before the world. It was not till the age of thirty-two that his first production, the *Lettres Persanes*, was given to the public in 1721, without the author's name. If the *Siamois* of Dufreni, or the *Espion Turc*, suggested the plan of this work, its execution is entirely original.

"The delineation of Oriental manners," says

d'Alembert, "real or supposed, of the pride and the dulness of Asiatic love, is but the smallest of the author's objects; it serves only, so to speak, as a pretext for his delicate satire of our customs, and for other important matters which he fathoms, though appearing but to glance at them."

The work was generally read and admired; but some censures bestowed upon the conduct of Louis XIV. caused it to be regarded with an evil eye at Court, and one or two sarcasms levelled at the Pope awakened the zeal of such as were rigidly devout, or found it convenient to seem so. The author was industriously represented as a man equally hostile to the interest of religion and the peace of society. Those calumnies reached the ear of Cardinal de Fleury, and when Montesquieu, sustained by the public opinion of his talents, applied for the place which M. Sacy's death had left vacant in the French Academy, that learned body was made to understand that His Majesty would never give his consent to the writer of the *Lettres Persanes*, because, though His Majesty had not read the work, persons in whom he placed confidence had shown him its poisonous tendency. Without feeling too much anxiety for literary distinction, Montesquieu perceived the fatal effect that such an accusation might produce upon his dearest interests. He waited upon Fleury, therefore, and signified that, although for particular reasons he

had not acknowledged the *Lettres Persanes*, he was very far from wishing to disown that work, which appeared to contain nothing disgraceful to him, and which ought at least to be read before it was condemned. Struck by these remonstrances, the cardinal perused the work, the objections were removed, and France avoided the disgrace of forcing this great man to depart, as he had threatened, and seek among foreigners, who invited him, the security and respect which his own country seemed little inclined to grant.* The 24th of January 1728 is the date of his admission, and the inaugural discourse pronounced by him on that occasion appears to have been distinguished by that originality for which all his writings are remarkable.

A short time before this event, Montesquieu had quitted his judicial charge. Full of the important ideas which had long occupied his attention, he determined to renounce every engagement

* Voltaire represents this matter in another light. "He (Montesquieu) adopted a skilful artifice to regain the Minister's favour; in two or three days he prepared a new edition of his book, in which he retrenched or softened whatever might be condemned by a Cardinal and a Minister. M. de Montesquieu himself carried the work to Fleury, no great reader, who examined a part of it; this air of confidence, supported by the zeal of some persons in authority, quieted the Cardinal, and Montesquieu gained admission to the Academy." *Ecrivains du Siecle de Louis XIV.* § *Montesquieu.* The authenticity of this statement, however, appears to rest solely on Voltaire's evidence, not altogether unexceptionable in the present case. D'Alembert's account is generally preferred.

which might obstruct the perfection and publication of them. To qualify himself for the arduous task of investigating and appreciating the different political or civil constitutions of ancient and modern times, he judged it requisite to travel, that, so far as possible, he might study the manners and character, the physical and moral condition of the European nations, by actual inspection. In pursuance of this object, he set out for Vienna, along with Lord Waldegrave, the English Ambassador. From this city, after conversing with the celebrated Prince Eugene, and surveying all that seemed worthy of notice, he passed into Hungary, and afterwards to Italy, where he met with Lord Chesterfield, and travelled in his company to Venice. Here he found our noted countryman John Law, still fostering magnificent projects, though reduced to gain a precarious livelihood by often risking his sole possession, a diamond, at the gaming table. Whilst examining the singular institutions of this Republic, and canvassing the subject with eager frankness in places of public resort, Montesquieu, being informed by a friend that the Government took offence at his procedure, was cautioned to withdraw, if he wished to avoid a scrutiny which might be troublesome, and perhaps dangerous. He instantly embarked for Fucina, where he arrived in safety, though not till, in his fear of being overtaken by some gondolas which appeared to aim at reaching the

ship, he had consigned his manuscript remarks to the waves.* He next visited Rome, and having surveyed Switzerland and the United Provinces, he repaired to this country in 1730. Newton and Locke were dead, but the philosophical traveller found men in England qualified to estimate his talents. Respected and patronised by Queen Caroline, he enjoyed the intimacy of Pope, Bolingbroke, and many other eminent characters of that period.

From England, Montesquieu returned to La Brede. The striking scenes which he had examined, and the distinguished persons with whom he had associated, could not but furnish matter of deep and extensive reflection to a mind so gifted. Perhaps his well-known observation, that Germany is a country fit to travel in, Italy to sojourn, England to think in, and France to live in, exhibits rather more pointedness than truth; but the practical knowledge which he had acquired respecting men and governments was advantageously applied in his future productions. The first, in order of time, is an essay, *Sur le causes de la Grandeur et de la Décadence des Romains*, com-

* In the *Dictionnaire Biographique* this affair is said to have been a mere frolic, invented and executed by Lord Chesterfield, to convince Montesquieu of his error in maintaining that French *vivacity* was preferable to English *good sense*. But his Lordship's logic, as well as urbanity, must have left him before he could make use of such an argument. The statement seems to be incredible.

almost every department of political economy, and Montesquieu is deservedly mentioned as a principal founder of that important science. The merits of his work are farther enhanced by his style, which, though emphatic and perspicuous, rather than polished, abounds in elegant sarcasm, in vivid and happy turns of expression which remind us of his countryman Montaigne.

Among the defects of the *Esprit des Lois* may be numbered its want of method, partly apparent, partly real. The transitions are universally abrupt; the brevity sometimes degenerates into obscurity, and the smartness into affectation. Though the author's tone is always decided and positive, his statements and speculations are occasionally uncertain or erroneous; in particular, the effects attributed to climate (some of which may have been borrowed from Bodin's *Methodus Historiæ*) are greatly exaggerated. But whatever blemishes the work may have, it is entitled to the high praise of steadily supporting the cause of justice and humanity, without departing from the moderation and reserve proper in combating established prejudices.

The reputation which its author had already gained procured for the *Esprit des Lois* a sufficient degree of attention; but the work, on its first appearance, was very unfavourably received. Such as were unable or unwilling to relish the deep philosophy of its matter, attached themselves

to the blemishes of its manner, and affected to despise it. The Chancellor Daguesseau observed that it should have been denominated *De l'esprit sur les lois*, and the pun obtained a circulation far above its merit. Voltaire also, being one day visited by the Abbé Olivet, whilst perusing the work, exclaimed, "*Venez, L'Abbé, venez lire Arlequin Grotius.*" * The general voice of Europe, indeed, soon put such criticisms to silence, but it was only to excite others of a graver and more dangerous nature. The editor of the *Gazette Ecclesiastique*, long deeply engaged in the Jansenist quarrels which agitated France for many years, assailed the author of the *Esprit des Lois*, in two pamphlets, with the charge of deism, and the weightier though contradictory one of following the doctrines of Spinoza. The "Defence" which Montesquieu published, admirable for its strain of polite irony, candour, and placid contempt, was entirely triumphant. Indeed, abilities of a much lower order than his would have sufficed to cover with ridicule the weak and purblind adversary who discovered the source of the *Esprit des Lois* in the *Bull Unigenitus*, and blamed his opponent

* This anecdote is reported by M. Suard, who had it personally from Olivet. If Voltaire really used the epithet in question, it must not be considered as expressing the deliberate opinion which that extraordinary person had formed of the *Esprit des Lois*, to the author of which, notwithstanding their mutual dislike, he pays a just and elegant tribute, in the discourse read at his admission into the Academy.

pleted during the two years of his seclusion at La Brede, and published in 1734.

In attempting to derive the grandeur and downfall of Rome, from the admitted principles of human nature, Montesquieu gave a new turn to such investigations. If some elements of a problem so complex have been omitted, and others rated too high or too low, the work must be allowed to exhibit views of political society, at all times specious, often equally just and profound; the vivid pictures, the acute and original thoughts, with which it everywhere abounds, are to be traced in many succeeding speculations. It deserves praise also for the manly and liberal tone of feeling that pervades it.

But the chief basis of Montesquieu's fame is the *Esprit des Lois*, published in 1748. His profession had led him to examine the subject of law with great minuteness, and he appears from an early period to have aimed at discovering some system which might serve to connect the isolated facts of a science, the extent and confusion of which increased with his knowledge of it. Hitherto writers on jurisprudence had limited their views to the codes of particular States, or to metaphysical discussions concerning the abstract rectitude of those codes. But the object of Montesquieu was different and much more comprehensive. Embracing the various and apparently capricious systems of law, as they regard commerce, religion,

or civil rights, in every country which travellers or historians make known to us, he endeavours to elicit regularity from this chaos, and to derive the intention of each legislator, or at least the utility of his law, from some circumstances in the natural or political situation of those to whom it is addressed. The attempt, if not entirely successful, was arduous and vast; it was likewise altogether new. The reading alone which it presupposes would have deterred a man of common ardour, especially if, like the author, almost totally deprived of sight, he had been compelled to employ the eyes of others. But although the *Esprit des Lois* cannot be regarded as a full and correct solution, it is at least a splendid theory; and the labour of twenty years devoted to produce it, the enthusiasm required for sustaining such an effort, were by no means misapplied.

The abundance of curious and generally authentic information with which the work is sprinkled, renders it instructive even to a superficial reader, while the vigorous and original ideas to be found in every page of it, by an attentive one, never fail to delight and astonish where they convince, and to improve even where the truth of them seems doubtful. The brilliant hints, correct or otherwise, which the author scatters round him with a liberal hand, have excited or assisted the speculations of others in

for neglecting to examine the doctrines of grace and original sin. It is to be wished that Montesquieu had employed means as legitimate to counteract Dupin's criticism. His admirers would willingly forget that when a copy of this work, now ready for circulation, fell into his hands, he carried it to the royal mistress, Madame Pompadour, and allowed her to inform Dupin, that as the *Esprit des Lois* enjoyed her special favour, all objections to it must be instantly suppressed.

Some excuse for this part of Montesquieu's conduct may perhaps be found in the growing infirmity of his health, which rendered him daily less capable of enduring the vexation of such contests. In fact, the chagrin already produced by them, the effects of study, and the civilities of the great, who courted his society with an eagerness which he felt would be fatal, had gradually undermined a constitution at no time very robust. In the beginning of February 1755, he was seized with an inflammation of the lungs, which soon proved mortal. His last days were soothed by the sympathy of all ranks of men; and though loaded with the most cruel pains, far from his family, and insulted by the officious visits of Father Routh (an Irish Jesuit, who afterwards forged a letter in his name), the peace and equality of soul which had marked the tenor of his life did not forsake him at the close of it.

He expired on the 10th of February, aged sixty-six years and a few days.

The private character of Montesquieu appears to have been such as the perusal of his works might lead us to anticipate. Possessing that calm independence which secured him respect, he possessed also that mildness and benignity of character which displayed itself in a cheerful temper and obtained him universal love. He was distinguished by the readiness which he always manifested to use his influence with the Government in behalf of persecuted men of letters; and strict frugality frequently enabled him, without impairing the property of his family, to mitigate the wants of the indigent.

A multitude of anecdotes attest the extent of his colloquial powers. The number of nations and celebrated men whom he had seen, the vigour of his mind, its boundless fertility in original and lively ideas, rendered his conversation at once instructive and fascinating. It was curt, like his style, without bitterness or satire, yet full of attic salt, to which his Gascon accent perhaps added new charms. The frequent absence of mind, for which he was remarkable, never occurred in a serious or interesting discussion; it was not affected, and he constantly awoke from it by some brilliant sally fitted to revive the conversation. Though living with the great, and formed to delight the most polished

circles, he could yet derive information and pleasure from the simplest objects, and felt at all times happy to exchange the splendid bustle of Paris for books and repose at La Brede. It must have been a striking spectacle to see this teacher of philosophers seated beneath an oak in his pleasure grounds, and, in order to relax his mind from the studies which he never carried to excess, conversing gaily with a crowd of peasants in their own patois, adopting their views, investigating their genius, supremely happy if his influence could terminate their disputes or solace their troubles. His touching interview with the Marseillese artisan, his delight on learning that this young man devoted every evening to ply as a boatman for the ransom of a father captive in Barbary, his generous and delicate reward of such affectionateness, have been made the subject of a drama, entitled *Le Bienfait Annonyme.*

Montesquieu in 1715 had married Demoiselle Jeanne de Lartigne, whose father Pierre de Lartigne was lieutenant-colonel in the regiment of Maulévrier. She bore him two daughters and a son. The latter, Jean Baptiste de Secondat, less noted for his respectable talents, than for the abstraction of his manners, wrote several tracts on commerce and natural history. He frequently resided in London, where some of his works were published. He died at Bordeaux in 1796, aged eighty years.

Besides the works above enumerated, Montesquieu is author of the *Temple de Gnide*, which quickly followed his *Lettres Persanes*. The *Pensées Diverses*, collected from his manuscripts, was published in 1758; the *Lettres Familières* in 1767. None of these productions are destitute of genius, but they cannot add much to the reputation of a man otherwise so distinguished. His works have all been translated into English. The best edition in the original language is thought to be that of Paris, 1796, 5 vols. 4to, or that of Bale, 1799, 8 vols. 8vo.

MONTFAUCON.

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MONTFAUCON (BERNARD DE), a celebrated French antiquary, was born at Soulage, in Languedoc, on the 17th of January 1655. His parents, distinguished among the nobility of those parts, usually resided at the chateau of Roquetaillade, where he lived till the age of six years. His education was then entrusted to the *Pères de la doctrine Chrétienne* at Limoux, under whose direction his zeal and assiduity were rewarded by a suitable progress in classical learning. Before leaving the paternal roof, his taste for reading had attracted the notice of Pavillon Bishop of Aleth, who predicted the young man's future eminence; and in this new seminary the perusal of Plutarch is said still further to have excited his enthusiasm. Yet the promises of that early age at first seemed likely to be disappointed. Montfaucon adopted the profession of arms, and the contemplation of classical antiquity was exchanged for active service in the wars of Germany under Marshal Turenne. But the character originally impressed upon

Montfaucon's genius, though obscured, was not obliterated. The death of his parents, the loss of his superior officer, inspired disgust at the military life; he quitted the regiment of Perpignan in 1675, after serving two campaigns (in which it does not appear that his conduct was marked by anything but the fighting of a duel), and entered the congregation of St. Maur, where, having spent the necessary period of probation, he assumed the habit of a Benedictine.

In that tranquil scene his love of study revived in proportion to the abatement of melancholy, and his theological pursuits were mingled with the investigation of antiquity. The fruit of these researches was manifested in 1688 by the publication of his first original work, *La verité de l'Histoire de Judith*, which involved an account of the Median and Assyrian Empires, and a critical dissertation concerning that history of the latter which is commonly attributed to Herodotus.

The reputation for learning which this treatise acquired, enhanced by several compilations, and particularly by his edition of St. Athanasius' works, published ten years afterwards, procured him a favourable reception in the various parts of Italy, to which his love of antiquarian studies led him in 1698. At Rome he officiated as procurator of his order; the Pope and cardinals were lavish in their attentions, and Montfaucon,

during the intervals of his ecclesiastical functions, gave frequent and unequivocal proofs of the learning which he possessed and was anxious to augment. It is related that Zacagni, then sub-librarian of the Vatican, feeling his vanity wounded by the praise bestowed on this accomplished foreigner, laid several schemes to lower him in the public estimation. One day whilst Montfaucon, among a crowd of distinguished persons, happened to be sauntering in the library, Zacagni, with affected politeness, requested the antiquary to favour him with the date of a Greek manuscript, which he spread out before him. Montfaucon replied that apparently it was written about 700 years ago; his antagonist, with a triumphant sneer, desired him to observe the name of Basil, the Macedonian, written at the top; the Frenchman asked if it was not Basil Perphyrogenitus, later by 150 years; and as this, upon examination, proved to be the case, Zacagni retired with his manuscript, and thenceforth left the stranger at peace.

On his return from Italy in 1702, Montfaucon published the *Diarium Italicum*, which, besides a learned account of the antiquities he had visited, was further enriched by some ancient Greek and Latin treatises, now printed for the first time. It deserves to be remarked that this work was translated into English about twenty years afterwards, by the noted "Orator" Henley,

whose "gilt tub," and whose labours in it, as "the Preacher and the Zany of his age," have been immortalized in the "Dunciad" of Pope.

After the period of his return from Italy, Montfaucon's life was marked by nothing but the successive appearance of his writings. The *Paleographia Græca*, exhibiting rules to determine the age of Greek manuscripts, appeared in 1708; and his great work, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, in 10 vols. folio, Latin and French, was published in 1719, and followed by a supplement of 5 vols. in 1724. The book (of which this edition is still reckoned the best) contains above 1200 plates; and though many of them are only copies of inaccurate originals, and though the whole seems to bear evident marks of haste, it was regarded as a very extraordinary effort, and continues yet to be a mine from which other less laborious inquirers draw their information. After the *Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise*, 5 vols. folio, came out in 1729, Montfaucon spent the rest of his life chiefly in revising his foregoing productions. Except the publication of his *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, it was marked by no incident worth recording, and two years after that event he died suddenly at Germain-des-Près, on the 21st of December 1741.

Montfaucon was celebrated for the mildness and benignity of his character. Neither the favours which he had received from an emperor, nor

the honours with which he was decorated by two successive Popes, could at all abate his humility; and strangers who conversed with him returned not more surprised at the amazing extent of his information than at the unpretending simplicity of his manners.

Of an author who has left forty-four vols. folio, it may be expected that elegance will not be a characteristic; and, accordingly, Montfaucon's writings are blamed for their cumbrous style and defective arrangement; but his erudition—a quality more befitting such pursuits—has never been called in question; and his works are still looked up to as guides through that obscure and intricate department of knowledge which he devoted his life to study.

DR. JOHN MOORE.

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MOORE (DR. JOHN), a noted miscellaneous writer, the son of Charles Moore, Episcopal clergyman at Stirling, was born in the year 1730. Mrs. Moore, upon the death of her husband in 1735, having removed to Glasgow, where she possessed some property, John, her only surviving son, enjoyed the benefit of being educated in the grammar school and college of that city. After obtaining a considerable acquaintance with classical literature, he was placed under the charge of Mr. Gordon, a practitioner in surgery, and at the same time attended the lectures of the medical professors in the university, among whom Dr. Cullen was already distinguished for his original ideas regarding the practice of physic.

The knowledge acquired from these teachers was not long in finding employment. By the kindness of the Duke of Argyle, Moore, in the seventeenth year of his age, was appointed mate to the military hospital established at Maestricht during the war which Great Britain at that time carried on for the Empress Maria Theresa. He afterwards served in a

similar capacity at Flushing, and next year he became assistant surgeon in the Coldstream Guards, and passed the winter of 1748 under the command of General Braddock, afterwards so unhappily remarkable for his fate in North America.

The arrival of peace, which put a stop to Moore's advancement in the army, afforded him the opportunity of attending Dr. Hunter's course of Anatomy in London; and soon afterwards the Earl of Albemarle, our ambassador at the French Court, to whom Moore had been introduced in Flanders, invited him to undertake the duties of surgeon to his family at Paris. During the two years of his residence in that city, Moore diligently employed all the facilities which his situation afforded to improve his medical knowledge; and so ardent was his desire of attaining this object, that he declined residing at the ambassador's house, in order to have more frequent opportunities of witnessing the practice at the hospitals by living in the neighbourhood of those establishments. Constant application naturally increased his professional skill, and gave a favourable opinion of his assiduity; and Mr. Gordon was sufficiently impressed with the character and abilities of his former pupil to propose admitting him to a share of his practice at Glasgow.

In partnership with this gentleman, and afterwards with Mr. Hamilton, Professor of Anatomy, Moore enjoyed considerable success for a number

of years. The university of Glasgow had honoured him with a degree; the cares and pleasures of a family were now added to his other engagements, and in the bosom of domestic comfort his life seemed to give promise of being respectable and happy, but not distinguished by anything superior to the lot of those around him, when in 1769 an event occurred which imparted a new colour to his future pursuits. Among the patients who at this time came under his care, was James George, Duke of Hamilton, a young man possessed of talents and virtues which were only prevented from doing honour to his exalted station by the attack of a consumption that baffled all the arts of medicine, and cut him off in his fifteenth year. Dr. Moore's services, though ineffectual, were gratefully acknowledged by the family to whom they had been rendered. He wrote the epitaph which records the fate and character of his patient in Hamilton Churchyard, and as the surviving brother of this nobleman was of a weakly constitution, his mother, for that reason, felt desirous that he should visit the continent in company with a person qualified at once to direct his observations and watch over his health. Dr. Moore, in whom both these requisites were united, was prevailed on to accept the charge. He left Britain with his pupil in 1773, and spent five years in visiting the most remarkable countries of Europe.

The fruit of those travels, "A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany," published at London in 1779, and followed in 1781 by a similar account of Italy, procured the author some emolument and a considerable literary reputation. These works were speedily translated into French, and read with applause by the people whom they professed to depict. They were read with equal applause in England, and are still deservedly admired for their spirited descriptions, their perpetual flow of lively if not profound observation, and above all, for the vein of pungent yet on the whole good-natured humour, which lends a charm to their other merits.

It does not seem that Dr. Moore's efforts to obtain employment as a physician in the metropolis, whither his family had removed soon after his return from abroad, were equally fortunate; and the reception of his "Medical Sketches," published in 1785, appears to have confirmed his predilection for the career of a man of letters. The success which the novel "Zelucco" met with was not calculated to disappoint such hopes. Its strong delineations of character and passion, its scenes of pathos and pleasantry, redeemed the occasional harshness and exaggeration of this work, and gave to it a more lasting existence than generally falls to the lot of similar productions.

The fame arising from these performances pro-

cured to Dr. Moore the advantages of a society fitted to appreciate his acquirements. He had corresponded with Dr. Smollett, and was prompt to encourage the genius of Robert Burns. His time seems chiefly to have been engaged by such intercourse and by a limited exertion of his professional abilities, till in 1792, the French Revolution having awakened the attention of all Europe, Moore visited Paris in company with Lord Lauderdale, for the purpose of more narrowly inspecting a phenomenon so extraordinary and so vast. The "Journal" of his residence in France, which he quitted immediately after the fatal 9th of September, was published on his return to England, and the author's ideas upon the object he had been contemplating were given in a more mature shape under the title of "Causes and Progress of the French Revolution," three years afterwards. Though the temporary interest which caused these works to be eagerly sought after at the time of their appearance no longer exists, they still merit a perusal. The first in particular is noted for the fidelity and spirit with which it sketches some events that will long figure in the history of the world.

From politics Dr. Moore again turned his attention to novels; but his "Edward" (1796) and his "Mordaunt" (1800) added little to his literary character. Though they retain some traces of his early vigour, they both exhibit symptoms of ex-

haustion and decay. They were the last effort of his genius. He died at his house in Clifford Street, on the 20th of February 1802.

As an author, Dr. Moore was more distinguished by the range of his information than by its accuracy or extent upon any particular subject, and his writings did not owe their celebrity to any great depth or even originality of thought. As a novelist he showed no extraordinary felicity in the department of invention, no great power of diversifying his characters, or ease in conducting his narrative. The main quality of his works is that particular species of sardonic wit, with which they are indeed perhaps profusely tinctured, but which frequently confers a grace and poignancy on the general strain of good sense and judicious observation that pervades the whole of them.

SIR JOHN MOORE.

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MOORE (SIR JOHN), a son of Dr. Moore, the subject of our preceding article, was born at Glasgow on the 13th of November 1761. Being destined for the military profession, he was educated chiefly on the continent; and whilst his father was abroad with the Duke of Hamilton, the interest of that nobleman procured him admission to the service in the capacity of ensign to the 51st Regiment of Foot. It was at Minorca in 1776 that Moore first entered the army; a lieutenancy in the 82nd Regiment was the next step of his promotion, and he seems to have held this station without much distinction or any censure during the several campaigns of the American war, in which he served till the arrival of peace, when his regiment was reduced in 1783.

A seat in the Parliament as Member for Lanark and the adjoining burghs, obtained apparently by the influence of the patron above referred to, did not long interrupt his advancement. About the year 1788 the office of major in the 4th Battalion of the 60th Regiment of Foot was exchanged for

a similar post in his original regiment, the 51st, and followed by the commission of lieutenant-colonel, which he purchased in that corps two years afterwards. From Gibraltar, where his military duties had placed him, he was ordered to Corsica in 1794, and the esteem of General Charles Stuart formed an epoch in his military life. The siege of Calvi was the scene of this distinction, and his first wound was received in storming the Mozzello Fort.

When a disagreement with the Viceroy had produced the recall of General Stuart, Moore succeeded him in the character of adjutant-general; but as the subject of dispute with the Viceroy still subsisted, the new commander remained not long on good terms with him. His return to England in the year 1795 seems not to have proceeded from dissatisfaction on the part of Government, and his appointment to the rank of brigadier-general in the West Indies, which followed immediately, opened a new and more conspicuous field to his military talents. At Barbadoes, in consequence of his appointment, he met Sir Ralph Abercrombie, commander of the expedition destined to act against St. Lucie, and in this hazardous service, of which an important department was assigned to General Moore, he acquitted himself with that steadiness and gallantry which excited the warm applause of his superior officer. The conqueror of St. Lucie, who had already

designated General Moore as "the admiration of the whole army," committed to him the prosecution of his enterprise, together with the government of the island; and this charge, undertaken with reluctance, and rendered full of danger and labour from the hostility of the natives and the number of Maroon negroes who constantly infested the country, was managed with a decision and activity that overcame every obstacle.

Two successive attacks of the yellow fever soon forced General Moore to leave the West Indies, but, in company with Sir Ralph Abercrombie, he was destined to earn still higher distinction. The first scene in which they again acted together was the Irish Rebellion, and during those unhappy contests, notwithstanding the disorganised state of the army, General Moore's conduct was such as to obtain universal approbation.

After Sir Ralph's expedition to Holland (1799), in which General Moore was severely wounded, a wider and more brilliant theatre was soon afterwards presented for their united exertions in the expedition to Egypt. During this celebrated campaign General Moore fully supported the reputation for bravery and coolness which his former services had acquired. An important charge in disembarking the troops was assigned to him, and the battalion which he led was among the foremost in the far-famed enterprise of storming the French batteries erected on a neighbouring

eminence of sand to oppose their landing. His subsequent efforts ably seconded the commander's arrangements, and contributed materially to the happy issue of their undertaking. That victory, which was purchased with the life of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, disabled General Moore for a time from further exertion; a dangerous wound in his leg confined him first on board one of the transports, and afterwards in the neighbourhood of Rosetta till the conclusion of the expedition. His merits were rewarded on his return to England by the Order of Knighthood, and public opinion seemed to point him out as a fit person for conducting any military operation in which the country might require his services.

The period for verifying those ideas was not long in arriving. After a few years of repose General Moore (1808) was called to take upon him the command of an armament which the British Government had prepared in aid of the Spanish Patriots, now engaged in hostilities with Napoleon. It is not our business to relate the particulars of this expedition. It is enough to observe, that after an advance to Salamanca, in which he was chagrined by every species of disappointment, cramped by restrictions, perplexed by misinformation, and after a fruitless attempt to penetrate into Portugal, General Moore commenced a retreat to the coast, conducted it successfully in the face of an enemy greatly superior, and by his masterly

dispositions at Corunna repelled the formidable attack in which a cannon-ball deprived him of life, though not till his last moments were consoled by intelligence that victory had secured a safe embarkation for his troops. He died with the equanimity which became him, on the 16th of January 1809.

Succeeding achievements of a more extensive and important nature have already eclipsed Sir John Moore's reputation. But the intrepidity and manly uprightness of his character, manifested at a time when the British army was far from being distinguished in these respects, are qualities more endearing and estimable than military fame. They extorted admiration even from his enemies, and the monument erected by the French officers over his grave at Corunna attests the worth of both parties.

NECKER.

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NECKER (JACQUES BARON DE), a distinguished financier and statesman, was born at Geneva, in the year 1732. His father, Charles Frederic, was Professor of Civil Law there, and became known to his contemporaries as the author of some treatises relating to jurisprudence. Intending to bring up his son for the mercantile life, he gave him a suitable education, which was hardly completed when the situation of clerk in a banking house at Paris having offered itself, Jacques was sent away to occupy it, at the age of fifteen. The allurements of a capital could not divert the young man from steadily discharging his humble duties, and sedulously consecrating all his unoccupied time to increase his general knowledge, and remedy the defects of his scanty education. Thellusson, his master, had observed this regular conduct; but it did not strike him that, under an exterior somewhat shy and repulsive, Necker concealed any talents beyond the ordinary though valuable qualities of punctuality and discretion. An accident first revealed the existence of higher powers, and

laid the foundation of Necker's future greatness. It happened one day that the head clerk, who had to transact some important business at the Exchequer, was prevented from attending to it at the appointed hour, and the business in consequence devolved upon Necker, who, guiding himself by the aspect of the case, managed the affair in a way contrary to his master's directions, but so as to secure for him a profit of 500,000 livres beyond what could have been acquired otherwise. This occurrence naturally attracted notice, and being followed on the part of Necker by the same prudent carefulness which had marked his previous conduct, it introduced him to the confidence, to the chief employment, and finally to the partnership of his principal.

Necker was now on the high road to wealth. Thellusson having died shortly after, he established a bank of his own, in which a brother and some other merchants had shares; he speculated with the East India Company, with the English funds; was cautious, enterprising, successful; and in the course of fifteen years had amassed a princely fortune. But the possession of a capital beyond that of the most opulent house in France (it amounted to six millions of livres) could not render the career he was prosecuting so successfully, and the kind of distinction which he might acquire from it interesting enough to engage all his ardour and limit all his views. He aspired to

reputation of a more exalted species, and his previous acquisitions in literature and science enabled him to take an honourable mode of obtaining it.

Political economy, begun under the auspices of Colbert, systematized and new-modelled by Dr. Quesnay, expounded by Turgot and a multitude of inferior men, was at that time eagerly studied in France, and Necker's profession co-operated with the bent of his genius to inspire him with a taste for the fashionable subject. He had examined it maturely, not without dissenting in many essential points from the sect then prevalent, and since named *Economists;* and in 1769, when the propriety of the East India Company's monopoly was keenly disputed, he published a book on the question, wherein he endeavoured to defend that establishment against the objections of Lacratelle and Morellet. It is a strong proof of the author's ingenuity that his work was popular, though it maintained so unpopular a side of the argument, and respected among men of letters, though it went counter to the fundamental principle of Dr. Quesnay's system, which they almost universally patronised. The *éloge* of Colbert (read at the *Academie Francaise* in 1773), and a tract on the Corn Trade which followed it, tended greatly to establish Necker's reputation as a political economist; and the consideration resulting from his immense fortune, together with the

esteem he enjoyed in the literary world, paved the way for his advancement to a station in the Government, where such talents might be immediately applied to practice, and were now more than ever imperiously called for.

It has been said that Necker did not entirely rest his claims to office on the strength of public opinion which backed him, but employed the intervention of the Marquis de Pezay, by means of whom he maintained a concealed correspondence with the young king, and transmitted him memorials insisting on the resources of the State, and painting in bright colours the immense improvement which might result from properly using them. Prompted by those glowing representations or impelled by the national voice, Louis at last consented to admit Necker into his finance department. It was at first attempted to make the new Comptroller-General divide his powers and his duties with the old; but eight months of experiment showed clearly enough that the two could not act in concert, and Taboreau being dismissed, Necker obtained the sole management of his post on the 10th of July 1777. His conduct in it gave general satisfaction. He retrenched and borrowed, and by many judicious arrangements materially bettered the condition of the treasury. The middle ranks, who felt the practical benefit of this procedure, approved his character, and extolled the disinterestedness (which his enemies

called the ostentation) of serving without a salary. Excepting Turgot, whom his doctrines on the corn trade had alienated, the literary class regarded him with favour, and exulted at the triumph of liberal opinions in this first instance, since the edict of Nantes was repealed, of a Protestant being advanced to any important situation in the Government. With the Court party he was less successful, his measures thwarted their prejudices and their interests; but the rectitude and calmness of his demeanour, and the powerful support he received from without, were sufficient to impress them with respect and to frustrate their cabals.

Necker was now in the place he desired; his administration of it was applauded; and the five subsequent years, though always full of toil and seldom free from anxiety, were perhaps among the happiest of his life. He was fortunate in the possession of an amiable and highly-gifted wife,*

* This lady is in some sort connected with the literary history of England. She was the Susanne Curchod, the object of Gibbon's early passion, the rise as well as the "decline and fall" of which is told with so much stateliness in his autobiographical fragment. Her father, M. de Naas, a Protestant clergyman of the Pays de Vaud, had improved her promising faculties by every species of culture. She was intimately versed in literature, ancient and modern, and united a keen relish and a great capacity for such pursuits, with all the grace and softness which adorn the female character. M. de Naas died prematurely, and left his family in straitened circumstances, which induced Susanne and her mother to settle in Geneva, and undertake the establishment and superinten-

whose attentive management relieved him from domestic cares, while her affection and accomplishments made his home at all times a scene of comfort and peace. He was employed in labouring for the welfare of a great nation. Buffon, Marmontel, Thomas, and all the most celebrated men of the age embellished his leisure, and he might flatter himself as being the architect of his own fortune, and think, with more than usual plausibility, that his own powers and his own merit had earned him all this exaltation.

So splendid a condition was not, however, destined to be permanent. Necker, it is true, continued to enjoy the unabated or even increasing confidence of the public; the *Compte Rendu* (1781), in which he developed his plans of finance, was circulated to an unparalleled extent; and among the 200,000 copies of it that were sold,

dence of a boarding school. Necker found her in this capacity, and had the sense to appreciate her worth; a Madame de Verminoux, having a son to instruct in Latin, took the young lady with her to Paris for that purpose; the acquaintance begun at Geneva was here renewed, and in due time ripened into marriage. Among the refined and intelligent circles of Paris, Madame Necker maintained her early distinction. At one time conversing with philosophers, at another watching over the necessities of the poor, she was eminent throughout all her life for the extent and force of her intellectual powers, no less than for the ardour and benevolence of her heart. To Gibbon, notwithstanding his highly *prudent* desertion of her, and the wide difference in their religious opinions, she displayed not the slightest resentment, but treated him always as a brother, and often corresponded with him in the kindest and frankest manner. She wrote several works of considerable repute, which will be enumerated afterwards.

few were perused with other feelings than approbation. But his enemies at Court were still active. The expedients he recommended for alleviating the national burdens, or allaying the popular discontent, were viewed with suspicion and repugnance; and a claim which he put forward, soon after the publication of his *Compte Rendu*, to a right of being received into the Council, and which he supported with more spirit than prudence, was eagerly seized upon, and being dextrously improved, it led to discussions which forced him to give up his appointment. He resigned on the 28th of May, and withdrew to Copet, a chateau which he had purchased lately on the banks of the lake of Geneva.

It was natural to feel keenly the immense change in his circumstances, and to a mind so active and aspiring, particularly when it had already drunk so deeply of the sweets of power, this change must have been more than usually galling. But Necker had not abandoned the hope of resuming his station, and the warm reception bestowed on his treatise, *De l'Administration des Finances*, published during his retirement, was well calculated to strengthen such anticipations. Courtiers might stigmatise him as a demagogue, whom his position in society rendered a natural enemy of the privileged orders, and whose ideas of a representative government, like that of England, were fraught with danger;

but the ineptness and prodigality of Calonne, his successor, the increasing agitation of the kingdom, the increasing embarrassments of the Ministry, all pointed to a thorough alteration of system, and to Necker as the man for effecting it. Animated by those prospects, he returned to Paris in 1787, and as Calonne had accused him before the Notables (then assembled to provide against the growing dangers) of malversation in his office and unfairness in his accounts, Necker instantly prepared a memorial to rebut this charge, of which it was easy to demonstrate the falsehood. He submitted his defence to the king, but refused at his request to suppress it, and was in consequence ordered to retire to St. Ouen, a country seat many miles distant from the capital. This banishment, however, was not of long continuance. Calonne's dismissal, which the publication in question contributed to hasten, and Bienne's appointment to succeed him, were found inadequate to the emergency; the financial difficulties, the popular discontent, went on increasing, and Necker was recalled in the month of August 1788.

Such a reinstatement might well be gratifying to his vanity, but the task he had to perform was appalling. On one hand were a dilapidated treasury and a ruinous though insufficient taxation; on the other was an impoverished and tumultuous people, from whose scanty resources he behoved to make good this deficiency, while

he felt that in their favour consisted his only security against the intrigues of a Court which viewed himself and his principles at once with fear and aversion. His first step, after devising means to relieve the pressing scarcity of corn, was to insist on the removal of Maurepas, the Prime Minister, and having now the chief direction of affairs in his own hand, he urged the king to fulfil his former promise of assembling the States General, as the only means of calming the popular ferment and effectually remedying the grievances of the nation. The States General were convoked accordingly; they met on the 5th of May 1789; but their meeting produced none of the anticipated effects. To Necker, far from realising his favourite project of a limited monarchy, it afforded nothing but a series of disappointments and vexations, placing him in a situation where it was impossible to reconcile the wishes of his master (or his master's advisers) with the wishes of the people, and thus forcing him to vacillate between co-operation and resistance with regard to both. In his dread of the *noblesse*, he had settled that the deputies of the *tiers état* should be equal in number to the two remaining orders united—an arrangement which soon brought about the junction of all into one National Assembly, where the democratic influence decidedly prevailed; and the plan of a constitution, by which he still hoped to quiet the rising

demands of that party, was so altered and curtailed by the king, that Necker refused to be present when it was read. Vehement contentions ensued, in which the voice of moderation could no more be heard; violent yet feeble efforts on the part of Government but served to irritate the deputies; and as Necker refused, notwithstanding their intemperance, to concur in the attempt to overawe them by a military force, and was besides regarded as a lukewarm friend, if not a concealed enemy to the royal interest, he received a secret order, on the afternoon of the 11th July 1789, to leave Versailles privately within twenty-four hours. He complied without hesitation, and instantly set out for Brussels. But his departure produced a result very different from the proposed one. Coupled with the gradual approach of a great army to Paris and Versailles, it inspired the populace with vague terrors, and enabled designing men to exasperate them into frenzy. On the memorable 14th of July the mob rose and levelled the Bastile to the ground, massacred every obnoxious person, and delivered themselves up to all manner of excesses. To appease them, Louis was glad to despatch a courier in pursuit of Necker, requesting his immediate return. He returned accordingly; and his journey from Basle, where the messenger found him, to the capital resembled a long triumphal procession.

It was a proud thing for Necker to be received

at the gates of Paris by the acclamations of assembled thousands, to have his bust paraded through the streets, and his house emblazoned by the inscription, *Au Ministre adoré;* but this brilliancy was not more lasting than the proverbially unstable nature of popular applause might have led him to expect. With the most earnest desire to act uprightly and honourably, he soon found it impossible to unite an attention to the real interests of the State with the favour of an excited and ignorant mob, perpetually misled by wicked agitators, yet drunk with its new-found power, and indulging the most chimerical expectations from the actual posture of affairs. Necker's mature judgment rendered him hostile to the extravagant and precipitate innovations which were sanctioned by the Assembly, and tumultuously hailed by the populace who now overruled and intimidated all parties. With equal ingenuity, keener ardour, and superior eloquence, Mirabeau confronted him like his evil genius, and being totally without scruple in the employment of any expedient, honest or the contrary, was but too successful in overturning all reasonable proposals, and conducting the people to that state of anarchy out of which his own ambition was to be gratified and his own exertions rewarded. When, to meet the immediate necessities of Government, Necker submitted the project of a loan, and offered to contribute a large sum from his private fortune

towards it, Mirabeau insidiously seconded this measure, and made it a handle for the production of various accounts before a select committee, who, being at once devoted to his views and ignorant of finance, brought out a report equally injurious and irritating to Necker, and thereby completely overset his declining popularity. His previous declaration in favour of the royal *veto*, though strictly conformable to those opinions which he had formed, and often expressed long before, had prepared the misguided people for listening to any accusation against him, and his opposition to the destruction of the *noblesse*, attributed to anxiety for his own acquired baronship, exasperated this distrust into open detestation. He was branded as an aristocrat, his personal safety was endangered, and he felt that it had now become high time to retire. Leaving his share of the loan (above £80,000 sterling), together with a large portion of his property, behind him, he accordingly quitted Paris, and returned to Switzerland, travelling by the same road on which a few months before his presence had excited such enthusiastic bursts of joy. The feeling was again as enthusiastic, but its character was altered. Necker secured himself with difficulty from the execrations of those who had so lately blessed him. At Arvis-sur-Aube he was arrested in his journey, and a decree of the National Assembly became necessary for allowing him to

proceed. At Vesoul, notwithstanding of this, his carriage was stopped anew. A short time ago they had unyoked this same carriage and drawn it in triumph through their streets; they now loaded with curses the object of their former idolatry, and threatened, or even attempted, to murder his attendants.

Arrived at Copet, far from the turmoils, the hazard, and the splendour of his late situation, Necker had leisure to reflect on the great scenes he had witnessed or shared in, to view the obscurity into which he was fallen, and to collect the scattered elements which yet remained to him of happiness or contentment. It is rare that a degraded Minister enjoys much peace of mind, or can extract pleasure from those sources on which human life must generally depend for its comforts. Whoever has participated largely in the spirit-stirring strife of power, who has struggled with its difficulties, and triumphed in subduing them, will find a void in his heart when such excitements are withdrawn, a languor and disquietude which objects less vast and imposing are altogether incompetent to remove. In Necker's political history everything was grand and surprising; the game he had played was deep as well as fluctuating; and when he lost it, his feelings did not belie the common maxim. "I could have wished," says Gibbon, after a visit at Copet about this period, "to have exhibited

him as a warning to any aspiring youth possessed with the demon of Ambition. With all the means of private happiness in his power, he is the most miserable of human beings; the past, the present, and the future, are equally odious to him. When I suggested some domestic amusements, he answered with a deep tone of despair, 'In the state in which I am, I can feel nothing but the blast that has overthrown me.'"

Time, however, which extends its quiet influence to every sensation of sorrow or of joy, did not fail to mitigate this despondency. Necker, indeed, still felt that he was banished from the country where his highest hopes had been centred; but the esteem of impartial men over all Europe, the secret approval of conscience, were not denied him. Three-fourths of his fortune might be engulfed in the confusions of France; but enough still remained for the gratification of his charitable dispositions and the support of his family in dignity and independence. By degrees his ambition directed itself to the more peaceful arena of literature and political philosophy; he composed various treatises in support of the doctrines formerly professed by him and the line of conduct by which he had endeavoured to put them in effect. Among his enemies, too, as faction succeeded faction, the misrepresentations which had tarnished his name began to clear away; the French Government, which had at first proscribed

him as an emigrant, erased this mark of reprobation, and charged their army, when it entered Switzerland, to treat him with every kind of respect. His pursuits were soothing, and shared by those whom he loved; and though his domestic comfort was rudely assailed by the death of Madame Necker in 1794, there still remained an illustrious daughter, who viewed him with a reverence and affection truly filial, and whose brilliant powers it was a delightful task to unfold. His care in this particular was amply recompensed. Madame de Staël, even before her father's death, had gained a literary reputation above that of any female in Europe, and the writings which subsequently marked her splendid though too short career will preserve her name to a distant posterity. Her own affectionate and impassioned character, her lonely situation, the unwearied and condescending kindness of her father, made it a pleasure and a duty for Madame de Staël to watch over his declining age with the tenderest solicitude. She seldom quitted him, and had reluctantly obeyed his injunction to recreate and instruct herself by a visit to Germany, when Necker was seized with his last illness. He died in her absence on the 9th of April 1804.

With a fate common to all who have lived in times of political agitation, and thus blended the memory of their actions with that of events, which give force and expression to every fierce quality

of human nature, Necker has been painted in the brightest and the blackest of colours, as the varying prejudices of historians have chanced to sway them. By one party he is reproached as the author of the French Revolution, and charged with all its horrors; by another he is eulogized as the virtuous and enlightened statesman, by whose guidance, too little appreciated and lost in factious clamour at the time, all the advantages of a reform might have been secured without any of its evils. His character, we may safely assert, has been greatly exaggerated in both cases. The French Revolution might be accelerated or retarded, it could not be prevented or produced, by any such circumstance as the conduct of Necker. And if his measures gave form and occasion to the troubles which followed, who can *yet* say under what different management the issue would have been milder or more salutary? By the candid of foreign nations, Necker is now considered as a Minister possessed of talents entitling him to an elevated place among politicians, and of integrity deserving perhaps to set him at their head. His talents, doubtless, were exercised where their exercise was too powerless to be of any benefit; but the high moral rectitude of his deportment—preceded, followed, surrounded as it is by perfidy, and cruelty, and baseness — forms a bright spot, on which the mind gladly reposes amid the general gloom.

It was unfortunate for Necker—but the natural consequence of his situation — that his political views, being formed in the closet, had too much of a speculative cast, too little fulness of detail, for comprehending all the multifarious elements which influenced the result when tried in practice. He had visited England and admired our constitution, but he knew only its outlines, and applied them too hastily to France, where so much was at variance with their application. In another point of view it was also unfortunate that his ambition was at once so high and so urgent for immediate gratification. Yet it ought to be remembered that if this love of popularity — too undistinguishing and too eager for perpetual nourishment—betrayed a want of the firmness essential to a great man, it had a close kindred with many of the qualities which constitute an amiable one. It appeared in the shape of vanity at times, but of vanity nearly allied to those benevolent affections which rendered Necker's conduct no less simple and exemplary on the theatre of politics, than it was endearing in his domestic circle. In the latter respect, whatever may be thought of the former, few indeed can lay claim to an equal tribute of praise. By his family he was viewed with a sentiment approaching to idolatry, and his daughter never consoled herself for his loss.

As an author Necker displays much irregular force of imagination, united with considerable per-

spicuity and compass of thought, though his speculations are deformed by an undue attachment to certain leading ideas, which, harmonizing with his habits of mind, had acquired an excessive preponderance in the course of his long and uncontroverted meditations. He possessed extensive knowledge, and his works bespeak a philosophical spirit; but their great and characteristic excellence proceeds from that glow of fresh and youthful admiration for everything that is amiable or august in the character of man, which in Necker's heart survived all the blighting vicissitudes it had passed through, combining, in a singular union, the fervour of the stripling with the experience of the sage.

We subjoin a list of his writings and those of Madame Necker:—*Résponse à Morellet* (on the India Trade, 1769); *Eloge de Colbert*, 1773; *Sur le Commerce des Grains; Mémoires sur les Administrations Provinciales*, 1781; *Résponse* (to Calone's accusation before the Notables, 1787); *Le Compte Rendu; Nouveau Eclaircissemens sur le Compte Rendu*, 1788; *De l'Importance des Opinions Religieuses*, 1788; *Observations sur l'Avant Propos du Livre Rouge*, 1790; *Sur l'Administration de M. Necker, par lui-meme*, 1791; *De la Révolution Francaise*, 1797.—By Madame Necker:—*Des Inhumations Precipitées*, 1790; *Mémoire sur l'Etablissement des Hospices*, 1794; *Reflexions sur le Divorce*, 1795; and eight volumes of *Mélanges*, selected from her various unpublished writings.

NELSON.

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NELSON (HORATIO VISCOUNT) was born 29th September 1758 at Burnham Thorpe, a village in Norfolkshire, of which his father was rector. Catharine Suckling, the mother, was grand-daughter to an elder sister of Sir Robert Walpole, and to this connection Nelson owed the name Horatio, bestowed in honour of his god-father, the first Lord Walpole. To his mother it was further owing, indirectly, that he adopted the profession of a seaman. From his earliest years the boy had evinced a quickness of understanding and a generous energy of spirit, which promised to raise him high in almost any department of human activity. It was the circumstance of Maurice Suckling, his uncle, being a captain in the British navy which concentrated all those powers towards that single object, in prosecuting which Nelson acquired so lasting and hard-earned a reputation. He was only about twelve years old when, being at home during the Christmas holidays and happening to read in a country newspaper that Captain Suckling was appointed to command the

Raisonnable, sixty-four guns, at that time put under commission in the prospect of a quarrel with Spain about the Falkland Islands—he instantly made known to his father, then at Bath, a strong wish "to go to sea with Uncle Maurice." In consequence of a promise to provide for one of his brother-in-law's children, rather than from any choice in the proposed individual, Captain Suckling acceded to this request; and shortly after, Horatio took leave of North Walsham School, of William, his playmate and brother, and set out for Chatham, where the ship was stationed.

It was early in the spring of 1771 that Nelson first set his foot on board of a king's ship. The reception was sufficiently disheartening. His uncle was not present at the time; no one had been apprised of the boy's coming, and he paced the deck for many hours without finding any person to receive or notice him. Nor did his subsequent experience soon belie the forebodings of so hard a commencement. A frame naturally delicate and still more weakened by agues, was ill calculated to endure the physical hardships of a sailor's life, the rough tumult of which was, moreover, sickening to a young and tender heart. Nelson felt wretched during the first years of his continuance at sea, and ever after retained a strong recollection of those early sufferings.

His situation was indeed uncomfortable, and the

hopes of bettering it were distant and feeble. He did not sail in the *Raisonnable*, which was paid off, the dispute with Spain being settled; but he had already learned practical seamanship during a voyage to the West Indies in a merchant vessel, and undergone the fatigues and dangers of Captain Phipps' celebrated northern expedition as coxswain in the *Carcass*, and gone out to India in the *Seahorse* of twenty guns (part of Sir Edward Hughes' squadron), before his good conduct procured him even the rank of a midshipman; and about eighteen months after his arrival in India a disorder attacked him which resisted all the powers of medicine, and left no hope except in an immediate return to Europe. His voyage home, it may well be supposed, was gloomy and desponding. Under the kind attentions of Captain Pigot, health was indeed slowly returning, but the anxiety and depression which frequently attend an affectionate melancholy character on entering upon active life, had ample means to prey upon him. "I felt impressed," he said long afterwards, "with a feeling that I should never rise in my profession. My mind was staggered with a view of the difficulties I had to surmount, and the little interest I possessed. I could discover no means of reaching the object of my ambition. After a long gloomy reverie, in which I almost wished myself overboard, a sudden glow of patriotism was kindled within me, and presented

my king and country as my patron. 'Well then!' I exclaimed, 'I will be a hero! and confiding in Providence, I will brave every danger.'"

From that time a radiant orb, as Nelson expressed it, was suspended in his mind's eye which urged him onwards to renown. Fortunate circumstances occurred to second this determination. His uncle had in the interim been made Comptroller of the Navy. On the 8th of April 1777, Nelson passed his examination with credit for a lieutenancy, and next day received a commission in the *Lowestoffe* frigate, then fitting out for Jamaica. His merits and the interest he had now acquired soon advanced him to a similar post in the *Bristol* flagship under Sir P. Parker, from this to be commander of the *Badger* brig, and next, on the 11th of June 1779, to the rank of post-captain in the *Hinchinbrook* of twenty-eight guns. His services here during General Dalling's expedition to Fort San Juan, in the Isthmus of Panama, were such as to attract universal attention, but the climate, which had ruined the whole undertaking, well nigh proved fatal to him likewise, so that his appointment to the *Janus* of forty-four guns turned out a fruitless remuneration, and to save his life Nelson was obliged once more to return to England without delay.

Nelson's promotion, though hitherto comparatively speaking rapid, was far from keeping pace with the ardour of his character. Succeeding events were

little calculated to soothe that impatience. His appointment to command the *Albemarle*, twenty-eight, in the North Seas immediately after partial recovery from a tropical disease, accorded with his wants rather than his wishes, and when the ship was paid off, soon after the conclusion of the American war, he had still to seek consolation in the hope that "true honour predominated in his mind far above riches." A short visit to France quickly tired him of idleness, and (March 1799) he was glad to accept the *Boreas*, twenty-eight, ordered to the Leeward Islands as a cruiser on the peace establishment. His conduct on this station exhibited the same firmness and activity which had always distinguished him. By repressing the abuses and evasions of law prevalent among the traders of that quarter, he acquired the esteem of all such as were fitted to appreciate the strong rectitude and bold decision of his character, but he acquired also the persevering hatred of numerous individuals whose peculations he had detected and exposed. Government *thanked* the commander-in-chief for what Nelson had done in direct opposition to his orders, the calumnies of his enemies preceded his return to England, and the *Boreas* on arriving was kept four months at the Nore serving as a slop-ship. Nelson never stirred from on board, he performed the duty with strict and sullen faithfulness, and on the 30th of November 1787, when orders were received to pay

off the ship, he said it was a joyful order because it would release him for ever from an ungrateful service with which he was unalterably determined never to engage any more. He would resign his commission instantly on reaching London.

The friend to whom he spoke wrote privately to Lord Home of the Admiralty, and prevented this passionate resolution from coming to effect. Nelson continued in the navy, and during the period of inactivity endeavoured to occupy his mind with rural pursuits at his father's parsonage of Burnham Thorpe. A few months before, he had married Mrs. Nisbet, a young lady, the widow of Dr. Nisbet, and niece of the President of Nevis, which latter had stood his warm friend in his disputes with the planters of the Leeward Islands. This connection—long a source of deep enjoyment to him—helped to dispel the tedium of seclusion; the father was satisfied with the preferment, and delighted with the presence of his son; but the restless inquietude of Nelson's mind could not brook continued indolence, and this impatience was aggravated by the inattention of Government to his demands, and by menaced prosecutions on the part of his enemies in the West Indies, which on one occasion nearly induced him to forsake his country for ever.

After many fruitless though earnest applications, he was at length gratified by an appointment to command the *Agamemnon*, of sixty-four guns. This

appointment, which took place immediately after the commencement of our late war with France, was procured by the interest of Lord Hood and the Duke of Clarence. The latter had known him and admired his talents for a number of years; the former, whom he accompanied to the blockade of Toulon, had an early opportunity of estimating his worth, with which he was yet only acquainted by hearsay. The occupation of Toulon was soon discontinued; but in the reduction of Corsica Nelson obtained, what he so greatly longed for, an occasion of showing his powers. He partly commanded the seamen employed in taking Bastia and Calvi, at the latter of which he lost his right eye, and during the whole of those operations his ardour and skill excited universal attention. His subsequent proceedings on the coast of Genoa were not less creditable to him, and the Austrian general with whom he was appointed to co-operate vainly attempted to impute, in the remotest degree, the results of his own misconduct to misconduct on the part of his allies. Nelson was made a commodore, obtained the entire confidence of Sir John Jervis (the new admiral), and contributed essentially to the great victory which that officer gained over the Spaniards at Cape St. Vincent on the 14th February 1787. Naval men unanimously assert that a manœuvre which the commodore executed at his own risk with eminent peril and dexterity was the main cause of our success

on that occasion. Before the news reached England he had been advanced to the rank of rear-admiral, and his gallant conduct in the engagement was further rewarded by the Order of the Bath.

Nelson's fame had long been high in the Mediterranean, it was now fast rising in his own country. The failure of an enterprise against Teneriffe, in which he lost the right arm, could not, when all things were considered, sensibly diminish this feeling; and his next achievement raised the admiration of his countrymen to enthusiasm, and gave him the character of a hero over all Europe.

Early in 1798, Nelson (now rear-admiral) — his wound being cured after a short stay in England —proceeded in the *Vanguard* to join Sir J. Jervis (now Earl St. Vincent) in the *Tagus*. He was soon despatched with a small squadron to learn the object intended by the French expedition from Toulon. Being reinforced in the Gulf of Lyons by ten sail of the line, Sir Horatio proceeded towards Egypt in search of the enemy. His masts were seen from the French fleet near Malta during a haze, and had Nelson been properly supplied with frigates—"eyes of the fleet" as he called them — while bitterly regretting their absence, Bonaparte would probably have been captured in the beginning of his career, and Europe might have escaped its succeeding convulsions. As it was, Sir Horatio managed the pursuit with an eager sagacity analogous to the boldness displayed

in battle. The French had followed a devious track to Egypt, and he found them at last, on his second inspection of the Alexandrian coast, strongly moored across the entrance of Aboukir Bay.

About seven o'clock in the evening of August 1st 1798, the English fleet moved forward to the attack. Admiral Brueys had previously expressed a private opinion that the English missed him because, not being superior in force, they did not think it prudent to hazard an engagement. The event fatally proved his mistake. In spite of his greater numbers and his excellent position, the piercing intellect of his antagonist had already conceived its plan. Before ten o'clock Brueys was dead, his ship *l'Orient* was blown into the air, the fleet which he lately commanded was totally ruined and dispersed.

On first beholding the French, Nelson had exclaimed, "A peerage or Westminster Abbey!" The better part of his anticipations was now fulfilled; he received the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, with an annuity of two thousand pounds per annum, and the general voice more than sanctioned this reward. From the scene of his victory, where crowds of Arabs and Egyptians filled the coast with rejoicings, to the remotest extremities of the civilized world, all who had been injured or who feared injury at the hands of the French, blessed him as their saviour. The

Neapolitan Court received him with open arms. For a considerable period he took an active share in all their proceedings, in resisting the French invasion of their territory, in transporting the Royal Family to Palermo and back again to Naples. They made him Duke and Feudatory of Bronte; his admirers would wish that such decorations had been all he acquired in their service. It is unnecessary to dilate upon the only stain that deforms the history of Nelson—his execution of Carraccioli, and his fervid though pure attachment to Lady Hamilton. The former had the show, not the substance, of justice; and the latter made his subsequent domestic life alternately a scene of bitterness and of rapture, in which the bitterness greatly prevailed.

We see him with more pleasure once again upon the ocean adding fresh laurels to his already glorious wreath. In the month of March 1801 Nelson, now promoted to be vice-admiral of the blue, sailed towards the Baltic for the purpose of checking the armed confederation entered into by Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, against the naval rights of Britain. For reasons which the public did not understand or relish, the first command was given to Sir Hyde Parker, and Nelson acted only in a secondary capacity. His advice was consulted, however, in all emergencies, and never deviated from without disadvantage. The time spent in negotiation and other vacillating transac-

tions allowed the enemy to prepare their defensive works; this was galling to the mind of Nelson, but on the 2nd of April he nobly redeemed all those errors of his coadjutors before the batteries of Copenhagen. The battle was long and bloody, and several of our ships ran aground and deranged the vice-admiral's measures; Sir Hyde, who with a part of the fleet lay at a distance from the scene of action, even made the signal to retreat. The signal was indignantly neglected; Nelson gained the victory, and used it with a clemency suitable to the valour with which he won it. In order to stop the effusion of blood, he despatched a letter to the Prince Royal of Denmark, for whom the contest was now become hopeless, and next day he went ashore, amid the murmurs and admiration of the Danish people, to settle the terms of an armistice, securing all the objects for which England had taken up the quarrel. He was soon appointed commander-in-chief in the Baltic, and his subsequent proceedings were equally spirited and decisive. Having thus effectually defeated the purposes of the northern confederacy, he returned home to enjoy the fresh renown with which those services had illustrated his name. Government exalted him to the rank of viscount, and the public followed him with an affectionate veneration which few individuals have ever enjoyed in a nearly equal degree.

The next duty in which Nelson engaged was

gratifying, rather as it proved the confidence which his countrymen reposed in him than as it afforded room for the display of naval abilities. Immediately after his arrival (July 1801), he was commissioned to guard the southern coast against the threatened French invasion. His attempt to cut out the shipping at Boulogne failed of success, not from want of skill in planning or of bravery in executing it, but from the untowardness of circumstances which render boat warfare at all times precarious. Two months after this event the Peace of Amiens delivered him from an employment to which his mind never felt any inclination.

But the greatest of his victories was yet behind. During the short continuance of peace he had occupied himself chiefly in rural improvements at Merton, giving occasional attendance at the House of Lords, where his few speeches were no less remarkable for the correct information than for the uprightness and integrity displayed in them. On the renewal of hostilities in 1803, he was instantly appointed commander in the Mediterranean. The principal duty of this post was to watch the movements of the large fleet lying in Toulon Harbour. Nelson waited long and anxiously, till at length his tedious and strict watch was suspended by intelligence that Vice-Admiral Villeneuve had put to sea on the 10th January 1805. Nelson steered for Egypt, but the enemy had re-

turned to port. They again sailed on the 31st March, and the sagacity with which he divined their intentions, the rapidity with which he pursued them from Europe to the West Indies, and from the West Indies back again to Europe, are unrivalled in the records of naval history. The terror of his name had saved our colonies, and Villeneuve's fleet returned home with all possible speed. Nelson too returned home, but it was only to enjoy a brief respite from fatigue. In August, news arrived that Villeneuve was at Cadiz, and Nelson immediately volunteered to go and meet him. The English fleet kept out at sea to hide their force, and Nelson's arrival was not known to the combined armament, when, on the morning of October 19th, the signal was given that the enemy were coming out of port. After a variety of movements, the contending fleets came in sight of each other near Cape Trafalgar, at daybreak on the 21st. The details of a sea-fight are not often interesting to general readers, but the victory which terminated the illustrious career of Nelson was so striking in its acquisition, so important in its consequences, that a few particulars respecting it seem worthy of remembrance.

"Soon after daylight Nelson came upon deck. The 21st of October was a festival in his family, because on that day his uncle, Captain Suckling, in the *Dreadnought*, with two other line of battle-ships, had beaten off a French squadron of four

sail of the line and three frigates. Nelson, with that sort of superstition from which few persons are entirely exempt, had more than once expresed his persuasion that this was to be his day of battle also, and he was well pleased at seeing his prediction about to be verified. The wind was now from the west, light breezes with a long heavy swell. Signal was made to bear down upon the enemy in two lines, and the fleet set all sail. Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign* led the lee line of thirteen ships, the *Victory* led the weather line of fourteen.

"Blackwood went aboard the *Victory* about six. He found Nelson in good spirits, but very calm, not in that exhilaration which he had felt on entering into battle at Aboukir and Copenhagen. He knew that his own life would be particularly aimed at, and seems to have looked for death with almost as sure an expectation as for victory. His whole attention was fixed upon the enemy. They tacked to the northward and formed their line on the larboard tack, thus bringing the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro under the lee of the British, and keeping the port of Cadiz open for themselves. This was judiciously done, and Nelson, aware of all the advantages which it gave them, made signal to prepare to anchor.

"Villeneuve was a skilful seaman, worthy of serving a better master and a better cause. His

plan of defence was as well conceived and as original as the plan of attack. He formed the fleet in a double line, every alternate ship being about a cable's length to windward of her second, a-head and a-stern.

"Nelson, certain of a triumphant issue to the day, asked Blackwood what he should consider as a victory. That officer answered that, considering the handsome way in which battle was offered by the enemy, their apparent determination for a fair trial of strength and the situation of the land, he thought it would be a glorious result if fourteen ships were captured. He replied, 'I shall never be satisfied with less than twenty.' Soon afterwards he asked him if he did not think there was a signal wanting. Captain Blackwood made answer that he thought the whole fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about.

"These words were scarcely spoken before the signal was made, which will be remembered as long as the language or even the memory of England shall endure — Nelson's last signal:— 'England expects every man to do his duty.' It was received throughout the fleet with a shout of answering acclamation, made sublime by the spirit which it breathed and the feeling which it expressed. 'Now,' said Lord Nelson, 'I can do no more; we must trust to the great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank

God for this great opportunity of doing my duty.'

"He wore that day, as usual, his admiral's frock-coat, bearing on the left breast four stars of the different orders with which he was invested. Ornaments which rendered him so conspicuous a mark for the enemy, were beheld with ominous apprehension by his officers. It was known that there were riflemen on board the French ships, and it could not be doubted but that his life would be particularly aimed at. They communicated their fears to each other, and the surgeon, Mr. Beattie, spoke to the chaplain, Dr. Scott, and to Mr. Scott, the public secretary, desiring that some person would entreat him to change his dress or cover the stars; but they knew that such a request would highly displease him. 'In honour I gained them,' he said, when such a thing had been hinted to him formerly, 'and in honour I will die with them.' Mr. Beattie, however, could not have been deterred by any fear of exciting his displeasure from speaking to himself upon a subject in which the weal of England, as well as the life of Nelson, was concerned, but he was ordered from the deck before he could find an opportunity.

"This was a point upon which Nelson's officers knew that it was hopeless to remonstrate or reason with him; but both Blackwood and his own captain, Hardy, represented to him how ad-

vantageous to the fleet it would be for him to keep out of action as long as possible; and he consented at last to let the *Leviathan* and the *Temeraire*, which were sailing abreast of the *Victory*, be ordered to pass ahead. Yet even here the last infirmity of this noble mind was indulged; for these ships could not pass ahead if the *Victory* continued to carry all her sail; and so far was Nelson from shortening sail, that it was evident he took pleasure in pressing on, and rendering it impossible for them to obey his own orders. A long swell was setting into the Bay of Cadiz; our ships, crowding all sail, moved majestically before it, with light winds from the south-west. The sun shone on the sails of the enemy, and their well-formed line, with their numerous three-deckers, made an appearance which any other assailants would have thought formidable; but the British sailors only admired the beauty and the splendour of the spectacle, and, in full confidence of winning what they saw, remarked to each other, 'What a fine sight yonder ships would make at Spithead!'" *

A few minutes before twelve o'clock several French ships ahead of the *Victory* began to fire single guns at her to ascertain the distance. When Nelson saw the shots pass beyond him he desired Blackwood and Captain Prowse of the *Sirius* to repair to their respective frigates; and as the

* Southey's Life of Nelson, vol. ii.

former took leave, expressing a hope that he would soon return and find the commander in possession of twenty ships, Nelson squeezed his hand, and said, "God bless you, Blackwood! I shall never see you more."

Collingwood's line was first engaged. Nelson, steering about two points nearer the north, soon after received a single shot through his main-top-gallant sail, on observing which the enemy immediately opened their broadsides, aiming chiefly at the rigging in order to disable the *Victory* before she could close with them. They had also planted riflemen in the shrouds, and by those means considerable havoc was made among Nelson's men before he could run on board the *Redoutable*, in his way to which he passed near the bows of an "old acquaintance," the *Santissima Trinidad*, memorable for the attack he had made on her long ago at Cape St. Vincent. The *Redoutable* received him with a broadside, and then instantly let down her lower deck-ports, in fear of being boarded through them. She used her great guns no more, though the *Victory* kept up a tremendous fire on all sides, her larboard shot striking the *Santissima Trinidad*, and Villeneuve's ship the *Bucentaure;* while Captain Harvey in the *Temeraire* had also on the opposite quarter come alongside the *Redoutable*, which was thus placed between him and Nelson, the *Temeraire* herself having in like manner another enemy close to

leeward. Of the four ships thus fearfully commingled, the two British alone made use of their cannon; they fired with a diminished charge in the lower guns, lest one might transmit her shot to the other, and the fireman of each gun stood ready with a bucket of water to dash into the hole where a ball entered to prevent the timber from inflaming. The French again trusted to their riflemen, by whose efforts, though the battle could not be gained, it might be rendered bloodier to their opponents. Nelson had always despised this mode of warfare, which he looked upon as dastardly and indecisive, yet the destruction it occasioned could not make him forget the dictates of humanity, and he twice ordered his firing to cease, supposing the *Redoutable*, which carried no flag, to have struck, as her great guns were silent.

It was to this ship that he owed his death. In the heat of the action, about a quarter past one, a musket ball* from her mizen-top, which was not then above fifteen yards from him, struck the epaulette of his left shoulder, and he fell prostrate on the spot still wet with the blood of

* The man who fired it did not live to boast of his success. Being observed by an old quartermaster, he was again easily recognised from his glazed cocked hat and white frock when but himself and another remained alive in the *Redoutable's* shrouds. The quartermaster, standing beside two midshipmen, was also killed by him, whilst crying out eagerly, "That's he! that's he!" and next moment the rifleman was in his turn shot through the head and heart at once by those two officers.

Mr. Scott, his secretary, who had been struck down at his hand before the *Victory's* firing commenced.

Nelson felt that he was mortally wounded, and said so to Hardy; yet such was his composure, that, having observed the tiller ropes to be shot away, he stopped the men who were carrying him down to the cockpit, and gave orders to repair the damage, and then took out a handkerchief to cover his face and stars that he might not be noticed by the crew.

On reaching the cockpit, which was crowded with wounded and dying men, Nelson desired the surgeon to leave him and attend to others for whom his services might be useful. He was laid on a pallet, and all that could be done for him was to fan his face and give him frequent draughts of lemonade to allay the death-thirst. He lay in great pain, but this bodily pain extended not to his mind. The *Victory's* crew cheered loudly as often as an enemy struck, and at each cheer a gleam of pleasure was observed to illuminate his countenance. It was about an hour before Hardy, for whose appearance he had now got very impatient, could come down to him. They shook hands in silence; Nelson inquired how the day went, to which Hardy answered that ten ships had already struck, and more were likely to follow them.

Nelson again shook hands with him and sent

him upon deck, from which in about fifty minutes he once more returned to soothe the dying moments of his commander with intelligence of a complete and signal victory; fifteen ships at least had struck. "It is well," said Nelson, "but you know I bargained for twenty."* With a greater emphasis he bade Hardy anchor; then said in a lower tone that he wished to be buried near his parents, and solemnly charging this affectionate and agitated friend with the care of Lady Hamilton,† he took farewell of him for ever. Soon afterwards his articulation became difficult; he was, however, distinctly heard to whisper, "Thank God, I have done my duty!" He repeated the words oftener than once, and never uttered more. The last gun was fired at the enemy about two minutes before he departed, with great calmness—three hours and a quarter after being wounded.

The victory of Trafalgar, the greatest ever gained, completed the fabric which a succession

* It is somewhat remarkable that twenty was the actual number that surrendered, though, owing to unfavourable circumstances, only four of them could be saved.

† Lady Hamilton's name was again mentioned to the chaplain with a memento that he left her and Horatia Thomson Nelson (a child whom he now acknowledged for his daughter) as a legacy to England. While in sight of the enemy, he had that morning written a memorial earnestly recommending both to the gratitude of his country; and it was a singular proof of his devotedness to Lady Hamilton that her image was ever present with him throughout the whole of a day so awful. She repaid

of brave men since the time of Queen Elizabeth had been slowly rearing with their toils and their blood. It stamped with increased importance and durability, as it were, the deeds of our Drakes and Frobishers, our Blakes and Benbows, and rendered the English flag indisputably triumphant in every sea. The man at whose expense it was purchased—and as we thought dearly purchased—had merited to stand at the head of such a list. His life was a series of triumphs nobly earned by the unremitting exertion of a mind gifted with the most acute penetration, the loftiest ardour, the most inflexible determination; and the last scene of it was fitly, though mournfully, adapted to its general tenor.

But in estimating the character of Nelson a defective judgment would be formed were he viewed only as a great captain. Whoever inspects his history minutely, will find in it traces of a spirit possessing a higher and more general species of excellence. His mind, it is true, was

this affection unworthily—detestably as it seemed—by publishing his correspondence with her, some years afterwards. But her friends allege that she was *driven* to this base step, as Government gave no ear to Nelson's last request, and she became involved in pecuniary difficulties. Her straits may perhaps extenuate, but cannot justify this proceeding, which on any supposition bears too indubitable marks of that intriguing, mercenary spirit which this large-minded woman had acquired in her progress from the low station of an opera girl to that of an English gentleman's widow, and an English hero's "Guardian Angel."

not unfolded by personal education or by intercourse with cultivated men; his understanding turned almost exclusively on naval tactics; his enthusiasm was bent towards the attainment of naval honour; his sense of rectitude embodied itself in a feeling of loyalty to the King of England and of hatred to all Frenchmen. Yet the high powers of genius existed in him, less palpably indeed, but not less certainly, for being obscured and distorted by his professional habits. The quick intellect was there, the fervid imagination, the keen susceptibility nourished by it—and contributing to impart that force of will which nothing could oppose. As a necessary consequence, there was also the restless inquietude which great objects alone, and those but for a time, could satisfy or assuage. Now and then this latter peculiarity might be unpleasantly manifested; in vulgar natures it would have been named discontent; but with him it was the impulse to generous feeling and daring enterprise.

Melancholy experience has never ceased to show that great warlike talents, like great talents of any kind, may be united with a coarse and ignoble heart. But in Nelson the sterner qualities of a conqueror were embellished by all that is elevated in a sense of honour, and tempered by all that is soft and romantic in human affections. Time has abated the first glow of our admiration for his exploits—exploits of a more exciting character have

occupied men's thoughts and cast his glories partially into the shade. The period is advancing when the naval superiority which he completed will pass away; but Nelson's name will always occupy a section in the history of the world, and be pronounced wherever it is understood, as that of a HERO.

THE NETHERLANDS.

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NETHERLANDS, THE, or LOW COUNTRIES, so called from their position with regard to several great rivers, and the general aspect of their surface, consist of seventeen provinces, which, together with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, now form a kingdom on the western coast of Europe. For nearly the last two centuries the name Netherlands has been somewhat vaguely applied. Occasionally it has been restricted to the ten southern provinces, which it is usual at present to distinguish by the title *Belgic;* the seven northern provinces having at the same time been known by the appellation of *Dutch Republic*, or *United Provinces.*

Belgium, extending from 49 deg. 30 min. to 51 deg. 40 min. of north latitude, and from 2 deg. 30 min. to 6 deg. 58 min. of east longitude, is bounded on the south and west by France; on the north by Holland and the German Ocean; on the east by the Prussian Duchy of the Lower Rhine. From Ostend on the north-west, to the extreme point of Luxemburg on the south-east,

is about 180 British miles, the greatest length of Belgium; and a line drawn at right angles to this, through South Brabant and Hainaut, would measure 120 miles, which may be regarded as the medium breadth; the superficial extent being estimated at 13,400 square miles, and the inhabitants at 5,226,000 souls—on an average, 240 to the square mile.

The general appearance presented by this tract of country is sufficiently unvaried. Except some diminutive hills in the counties of Namur and Luxemburg, nothing occurs to break the level uniformity of its surface; no lake of any extent, no river of any majesty, no scene of nature to arrest the traveller of taste. Some forests in Flanders, indeed, that of Soignies in Brabant, and the venerable one of Ardennes, still extending almost from Valenciennes to Treves on the south-east, give an air of picturesqueness to some of those districts: yet Belgium, in comparison with other regions of Europe, has little to diversify its aspect, and less to adorn it. It is not, however, destitute of a certain grace, which, if not strictly beautiful, is still calculated to yield pleasure to the observer. Ascending the church tower of any of its towns—the only position from which an extensive view can be commanded—the eye ranges over a vast space of fertile and highly cultivated land, intersected with numerous canals, and studded with towns and villages in every direction, the smoke

and the spires of which give a character of diligence and life to the prospect; while the multitudes of antique monastic buildings, generally embosomed among woods, or here and there a feudal castle, with its high-peaked roofs, its quaint architecture and obsolete defences, reflect back upon the mind a touching shadow of the romantic ages. Nor is the scene without interest, borrowed from times of a more recent date. For the last three hundred years Belgium has been the great arena of the political contests of Europe; from the age of William of Orange to that of Bonaparte, the destinies of the world have been fought for and decided here, and no country contains as many spots rendered famous by the memory of sieges and treaties and victories.

A transient visitor longs for the sublime in natural scenery; the useful is more valuable to a resident; and if Belgium ranks low in the estimation of the former, it should rank proportionably high in the estimation of the latter.

No part of the Continent is better adapted for the purposes of life, or yields a more ready and abundant reward to the labours of the husbandman. For six centuries it has vied with Lombardy, for a shorter period with England, in meriting to be entitled "the garden of Europe"—a distinction which it owes no less to the fertility and conveniences of its soil than to the experience and activity of those who till it. A rich sandy loam, with

but a few inferior patches of clay, dressed with neatness and copiously manured, without the use of fallows, gives a constant return of twelve or ten to one in the best districts, and of seven or six to one even in the worst. The artificial products of its agriculture differ not materially from those of our own country; its corn, fruit, hemp, flax, have long been known; its wool, though not equal to that of England, is of good quality, having been improved by the mixture of a breed imported by the Dutch from India, and its horses and cattle are greatly esteemed for their strength and size. In regard to native vegetables, the same similarity is to be observed; the relative quantity alone being sometimes different from what is found with us, very rarely the kind. The hop-plant once formed an exception; it was introduced by Henry VIII. from Belgium, where it grows spontaneously. In Luxemburg also a little wine is produced, though otherwise that province is the most barren of the whole.

This similarity in the vegetable productions of England and Belgium might lead us to expect a corresponding similarity in their climates, and observation confirms this supposition. The climate of Belgium closely resembles that of the south of England; the air, though cold, is healthy; frequent sea-breezes keep it in a state of purity; and as the soil, owing to its sandy nature, is far drier than that of Holland, as it is also far more elevated

with regard to the level of the waters, the mists and tempests, the wet and cloudy winters of the northern provinces are much less common here.

The comparison which Belgium may sustain with England in regard to its climate and the productions of its soil, will fail if extended to the interior of its rocks. Belgium has few minerals, and those few not valuable or extensively distributed. Some copper and lead at Namur, some iron in Luxemburg and Hainaut, some calamine and zinc near Limburg, one or two coal mines in the tract between Maestricht and Charleroi, are all it has to boast of in this respect; and the scantiness of Nature has been slightly compensated by the diligence or skill of the inhabitants. Their mines have never been judiciously managed; their coal-mines, in particular—till the late war, by excluding all regular intercourse with Britain, forced the people to depend on their own resources—were almost entirely neglected: they are now increasing in importance and productiveness, though still far within the limits of their capability.

The levelness of surface, which is unfavourable to the discovery and working of mines, is highly advantageous, in another respect, by the facility it affords for constructing canals. In Belgium, as in Holland, canals perform the services which roads perform elsewhere: they intersect the country in every direction, and form the usual mode of communication from one town to another.

Some of them are as old as the tenth century; they abound in all quarters at present, and the existing government, avoiding the niggardly policy of its predecessor, is anxious to keep them in repair. The rivers of Belgium are not unlike canals in their appearance, and equally useful to commerce. None of them are of great length, but the slowness of their descent accumulates their waters and allows them to be navigated far above their mouth. The Maese, or Meuse, is the most interesting in its scenery. It rises in France, from the elevation that gives birth also to the Aube, the Marne, and the Saone, and after receiving the Sambre at Namur on its left side, and the Atwaller on the right at Liège, it joins the Waal by several outlets in Northern or Dutch Brabant. Between the towns just mentioned its shores exhibit on a smaller scale much of the romantic scenery which adorns those of the Rhine. The Scheldt, as far inferior in beauty to the Maese, as it is superior in utility for trade, rises also in France, near Bohain in the Aisne Department, is augmented by the Lys on its left side at Ghent, by the Dender and Rupel on its right, and discharges itself by two large channels—the eastern Scheldt, which passes by Bergen-op-Zoom, and the western Scheldt, which passes towards Flushing—as well as by a multiplicity of smaller ones, the interlacements of which give rise to the islands of Zealand. The Scheldt is not so long as the

Thames, but, like that stream, it deepens and widens to a great extent by the resistance of the sea.

By means of those rivers, their subsidiary streams, and the canals which connect them with each other and with the Rhine, Belgium has an expeditious and safe communication with all places in the north of France, with the west of Germany, and even with Switzerland. Such advantages for commercial intercourse were soon laid hold of by the inhabitants. The fertility of their soil, their fortunate position in regard to neighbouring nations, combined with those advantages to introduce an extensive and flourishing trade during the early ages. The wealth which this generated and diffused over the towns of Belgium secured their political freedom at a period when, excepting Italy, nothing like freedom, or even well-organised despotism, existed in the world, and this new stimulus reacted powerfully on the cause which had produced it. The first enterprises of the Belgians were directed to the neighbouring coasts of Britain and Denmark. The wool brought back from the former employed thousands of workmen in Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, and before the middle of the twelfth century Flemish cloths were widely sold over France and Germany. Already in the preceding century the ships of Friesland were to be found in the Belt, some of them even ventured to visit the Levant. Without a compass, these

enterprising mariners had the courage and skill to approach the Pole, and coast round the northern capes of Russia. From the towns of the Baltic Belgium acquired a portion of the Oriental trade, the course of which was at that time by the Black Sea through Russia to those regions. In the thirteenth century, it is true, this trade began to fail; the crusades had opened a new path for the commodities of India by the Mediterranean; the States of Italy seized upon the lucrative employment of transporting them; and the Hanseatic League was formed in Germany. But those changes, while they altered the direction of the Flemish trade, greatly increased its quantity. Belgium soon became the emporium of Europe, the point of communication between the north and the south. Seamen had not yet universally adopted the use of the magnet, and even such as had, were accustomed, according to their former practice, to creep slowly along the coasts, doubling every promontory, and scarcely on any account venturing into the open sea. The time consumed in such voyages may easily be conceived. But the harbours of the Baltic are often frozen during winter, and inaccessible to any ship. Vessels, therefore, which could not easily traverse the wide distance from the Mediterranean to the Belt in a single season, were glad to find a place of union midway between both. Belgium, with an immense extent of country behind it and connected with

it by canals and navigable streams, open also by safe harbours to the ocean on the west, seemed expressly suited for such a purpose. It was not slow to profit by its circumstances. Staples were erected in all the principal towns. Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, French, English, Germans, Danes, Swedes, travelled thither with merchandise from all quarters of the globe. The competition of sellers lowered the price; domestic industry was quickened by the existence of a near and abundant market; and the princes of the country, awakening at length to their true interests, encouraged the merchant by important privileges, and protected his foreign speculations by special treaties with external powers. United among themselves, the Flemish towns at last ventured to renounce the Hanseatic Confederation, and even to defy that powerful enemy wherever it opposed them. The Hanse merchants, when the harbours of Spain were shut against them, felt constrained reluctantly at length to visit the markets of their rivals, and purchase Spanish goods in the staples of Belgium.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Bruges in Flanders was the heart of commercial Europe—the great fair of all nations. In the year 1468 a hundred and fifty merchant ships might be seen at once all entering its harbour of Sluys. Besides the rich magazine of the Hanse Confederation, the warehouses of fifteen mercantile

bodies were to be found here, with factories and families of merchants from every country of the civilized world. It was the emporium of all northern products for the south, of all southern and Oriental products for the north. The latter proceeded in Hanse bottoms through the Sound, and along the Rhine to Upper Germany, or were carried by land eastward to Brunswick and Lüneburg.

The prosperity of Bruges, Ghent, and the neighbouring towns was accompanied with unbridled luxury, and with a turbulent spirit of insubordination, which at last brought on their downfall. They quarrelled with their rulers, and the issue was unfortunate. Maximilian of Austria, whom the people of Bruges had even the boldness to lay hold of (1497), and confine with his suite till their grievances were redressed, was obliged for a time to give way; but Frederick III., Maximilian's father, used every effort to avenge this insult. He seized the harbour of Sluys, and thereby during ten years greatly impeded their trade. The Flemish weavers, too, who had now settled in England, began to produce cloths of their own; the Italian merchants began to frequent other fairs; the Hanse Confederation, exasperated by the haughtiness of the city, carried away their factories, and the commerce of Bruges gradually sunk—but slowly, as it had arisen slowly.

The decline of Bruges produced a change, but

no diminution in the general trade of Belgium. Antwerp now stood forth to fill up its place, and each source of wealth, as it ceased to flow in the channels of Bruges, was sedulously diverted into those of its rival. If the Italian merchants, the Hanse Confederation, the cloth-dealers of England turned away from the port of Sluys, it was only to enter that of the Scheldt; and Antwerp, under the government of Charles V., had become the liveliest and most splendid city in Christendom. Its excellent haven invited ships, its privileged fairs allured traders from all quarters. The industry of Belgium had mounted to its summit at the commencement of the sixteenth century. The produce of grain and flax, the rearing of cattle, the curing of fish, enriched the peasant; arts, manufactures, and commerce, the townsman. Ere long the productions of Flemish industry were to be met with in Arabia, Persia, and India; Flemish ships covered the ocean; we find them even on the Black Sea, contending with the Genoese; and their mariners were distinguished from all others by hoisting sail at every season, even the rudest of the year.

When the new route by the Cape was discovered, and the Portuguese trade undermined that of the Levant, Belgium did not feel the blow which laid prostrate the Italian republics. Portugal erected its staples in Brabant, and the spices of Calicut were displayed in the markets of Antwerp.

Hither also flowed the West-India produce, with which the proud indolence of Spain rewarded the diligence of the Low Countries. The East-India sales of Antwerp attracted the Fuggers and Welsers from Augsburg, and the richest companies of Florence, Lucca, and Genoa. The Hanseatic Confederation exposed their northern productions here, and our English company of merchant adventurers are said to have employed above thirty thousand of its people. The renown of Antwerp extended itself over all the earth. Towards the conclusion of this century a society of Turkish traders begged permission to settle there, and circulate from that centre the products of the East over Greece. With the exchange of goods that of money also increased. Flemish bills were current in all quarters of the globe. Antwerp, it is maintained, transacted more business at that period within a month than Venice had done within two years during the most brilliant epoch of its history.

In 1492 the Hanseatic Confederation held its general congress in Antwerp, not in Lübeck, as formerly. In 1531 the Exchange was built, the most magnificent in Europe at the time, and afterwards the model of that of London. The city contained two hundred thousand inhabitants; but the floating multitude, the world which pressed towards it on every side, exceeds all belief. Above five hundred ships entered and left its harbour

daily; above two hundred coaches daily passed through its gates; upwards of two thousand waggons arrived weekly from Germany, France, and Lorraine, not reckoning farm-wains and provision carts, which commonly exceeded ten thousand. The exports and imports seemed infinite in variety and immense in quantity. The spiceries and drugs alone, which Lisbon sent into it, were valued at a million of crowns in the year.

But the splendour of Antwerp was not destined to be lasting. It departed like that of Bruges, and not slowly, as that of Bruges had done; it was extinguished at once in the zenith of its glory, and has never more returned. The stern oppression of tyrannical governors, the sterner persecution of inquisitors, the devastations of a savage and fanatical soldiery, all that is cruelest in the scourge of war, when despotism and bigotry unite to make it cruel, descended upon Antwerp like a thunderbolt, and destroyed it irrevocably. The peaceful merchant fled in terror from a Granvella and an Alva, and all the riches and power of Belgium fled along with him. Since the end of the sixteenth century a succession of unfavourable circumstances—the change of masters, the invasion of enemies, the preferable condition, and hence the successful rivalry of Holland or of England—have perpetuated the depression brought on by the blind and execrable policy of Philip II., and nothing can be stronger than the contrast of what

Belgium *is* with what it *was*. For the last two hundred years its external trade has been trifling, and up to the present date it has not sensibly increased. Few of its vessels visit foreign countries, and the scanty remnant of its trade is mostly inland to Germany. The western districts, however, export some flax and hemp; the other districts, corn and various kinds of seed. The manufactures have experienced an enormous, though not a proportional, decline also. Some remains of the woollen trade are still found at Bruges; manufactures of lace and linen at Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain, Ghent, and Mechlin; Antwerp is farther noticed for its silk, Ghent for its cotton, and Liège prepares hardware and leather.

The ancient opulence of Belgium is, however, still discernible in the multitude of its towns and villages. No portion of Europe excites the attention of a stranger so forcibly in this respect. Many of these places are fortified; except on the borders of the Maese, where the ground contains marble and stone, they are uniformly built of brick, with steep roofs, the ends of which are directed to the street, and their general appearance is, on the whole, quiet and agreeable.

BRUSSELS, the chief city of Brabant, indeed of Belgium, is alternately, with the Hague, the seat of the Parliament of the New Kingdom. It stands on the Senne, beside a fine canal, which

has lately been repaired. The city is beautiful and well built; has a college, an academy, and a public library, which contains one hundred and twenty thousand volumes. The Hotel-de-Ville is a large Gothic edifice, with a tower three hundred and sixty-four feet high. The Palace of Lacken is in the neighbourhood. Brussels stands among meadows, which, being frequently inundated by the Senne in winter, render its situation disagreeable, though their growth, so much the more luxuriant in summer, increases its beauty and convenience. The population is estimated at seventy-five thousand. They manufacture lace, hats, gloves, cotton, silk and woollen cloths; their fabric of camlet was long the first in Europe.

ANTWERP, situated on the Scheldt, though fallen, as we have seen, from its former magnificence, is still the second city of Belgium. Its streets are broad and regular, and many of its public buildings are beautiful. The citadel, built by the Duke of Alva, was the scene of some bold enterprises in the wars of Philip II. The Exchange has already been mentioned, and the Cathedral is admired as the finest piece of Gothic architecture existing in Europe. The harbour has lately undergone some improvement; it was greatly damaged by our armies in 1814. Antwerp manufactures most of the laces known by the name of Mechlins; it is noted for its thread; it trades in diamonds, and prepares some cloths and

chemical products. The population is sixty-three thousand.

GHENT, or GAND, the capital of Flanders, is placed at the junction of the Scheldt with the Lys and the small rivers Moëre and Lierre, by which means it is divided into no fewer than twenty-six islands, most of which are bordered with quays. Ghent, like Antwerp, is greatly decayed. From one gate to the other is a distance of a league, but much of the intervening space is laid out in gardens, or even ploughed fields, and the city does not now contain above fifty-seven thousand inhabitants. It is remarkable as the birth-place of Charles V., whose punning boast, that he could put all Paris in his *Gand* (glove), has often been recorded. The principal manufactures are cotton-cloth and lace. LIÈGE is the capital of the province which bears its name. It has an academy and a lyceum, but its churches and public buildings have suffered greatly during the late wars. The population is fifty thousand. As we have stated above, they work in various metallic fabrics, and prepare leather. BRUGES is now reduced from its ancient grandeur to a population of thirty-three thousand. It stands on a beautiful plain, and its two hundred and sixty streets are spacious and elegant, though consisting of old and thinly inhabited houses. Among its principal deficiencies is the want of springs or running streams; the water used in culinary

operations has to be transported from the Lys and Scheldt by the canals. Of its public buildings, the steeple at the end of the great market-place is reckoned one of the finest in Europe; the ascent to it is by a hundred and thirty-three steps. Bruges manufactures some woollen cloth, with a little cotton and lace. Of the other towns in Belgium, Mons, the capital of Hainaut, is the only one whose population reaches thirty thousand. Ostend and Sluys are the sea-ports; their extent is not remarkable. The former has eleven thousand inhabitants; the latter, a somewhat greater number.

The *government* of Belgium, its establishments for *religion* and for *education*, are now merged with the corresponding peculiarities of Holland, and belong to the characteristics of that new kingdom, into which both countries have lately been combined. Before proceeding to discuss those topics, therefore, it will be proper to cast our eye over the *history* of the provinces which are now united. The circumstances under which that union has taken place will then naturally fall to be described, and must of course comprehend the *government*, with its revenue and forces, the *religion* and the state of *education*, which are now alike for all.

History.—The early history of the Netherlands has nothing in it very interesting or peculiar. Like that of most European States, it commences with an account of their subjugation. The Romans

had penetrated into those countries and conquered them all before the beginning of the Christian era. The people had not yielded tamely. The Belgæ inhabiting the left bank of the Rhine are described by Cæsar as the only Gallic tribe brave enough to withstand the irruptions of the Teutones and Cimbri; the Frisians, occupying the right bank of the same river, made a stubborn opposition in the middle of their swamps, and the Batavians, who dwelt upon the islands of Zealand, were honoured as the boldest of all the neighbouring clans. Their opposition was vain, however, and their gallant attempt to cast off the yoke in Vespasian's time was equally vain. They submitted to the Romans, and participated in the improvements which that people usually communicated to the nations it conquered. The canal of Drusus, from the Rhine to the Flevo or Zuyder Zee, still exists, though its character is altered, and the first dykes, which protected Holland from the ocean, are ascribed to the enterprising industry of those governors. The stout spirit of resistance shown by the Batavians had procured them respect in the eyes of their conquerors. The tribute of the province was paid in soldiers; Batavians formed the body-guard of the Emperor, as Swiss have done in later times, and the valour which had been displayed on the banks of the Rhine was equally conspicuous in other quarters of the empire. Agricola was accompanied and powerfully

aided by them in his progress through our island, and the Dacian hosts recoiled when Batavians in full armour swam across the Danube to attack them.

During four centuries we find Batavians enumerated among the Roman armies, but after the time of Honorius their name vanishes from history. The eruption of the northern nations swept over their country in its course, and destroyed all the monuments of Roman power and ingenuity. The monarchy of the Franks, which arose on the ruins of Gaul, had in the sixth and seventh centuries embraced all the provinces of the Netherlands, and planted the Christian faith in them. After an obstinate struggle, Charles Martel overcame Friesland the last of all, and Charlemagne united the whole of those countries with the wide empire which he had formed for himself out of Germany, France, and Lombardy. When Charlemagne's possessions were again divided among his successors, the Netherlands became at one time provinces of Germany, at another of France, and we find them at last designated by the names of Friesland and Lower Lorraine.

With the Franks arrived also the constitution of the north, and here, as elsewhere, it gradually degenerated. The stronger vassals separated in process of time from the Crown, and the royal officers laid hold of the districts over which they were sent to preside, and rendered them heredi-

tary in their families. But those revolted vassals could not hope to resist their king except by the help of their inferior retainers, and the support thus required was repaid by fresh infeudations. The priesthood in the meantime, also, growing wealthy and powerful, had extorted for itself an independent existence in its abbeys and episcopal sees; and thus in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the Netherlands were split down into a number of petty sovereignties, the heads of which held partly of the empire, partly of France. By purchase, marriage, inheritance, or conquest, several of these lordships were frequently united under one master; and in the fifteenth century we find the house of Burgundy in possession of almost the whole.

Philip the Good, by prosecuting various claims, just and the contrary, had at last succeeded in uniting eleven of the provinces under his authority; and Charles the Bold, his son, increased them by the conquest of other two. And thus a new state had silently arisen in Europe, to which nothing but the name was wanting to make it the most flourishing kingdom in that quarter of the world. Such extensive possessions made the Duke of Burgundy a suspicious neighbour to the King of France, and inspired the restless spirit of Charles the Bold with the plan of a conquest, destined to include the whole tract of country extending between Alsace and

the mouths of the Rhine. The Duke's inexhaustible resources justified in some measure this proud chimera, a powerful army threatened to realise it, and Switzerland already trembled for its freedom. But fortune forsook Charles at the battles of Granson, of Morat, of Nancy; he fell by an unknown hand, and his very corpse was all but lost among the carnage of his followers.

The future husband of his sole daughter and heiress, Maria, would now become the richest prince of the time. Maximilian, Duke, afterwards Emperor of Austria, and Louis XI. of France, were rivals for this honour, and excluded the claims of humbler competitors. The States of the Netherlands dreaded the power and the tyranny of Louis; Maximilian was weaker and more distant; they decided for him. Their political foresight corresponded ill with the event. Philip the Fair, Maximilian's and Maria's son, acquired with his Spanish bride the extensive monarchy which Ferdinand and Isabella had lately founded; Charles V., the next heir, augmented this inheritance by his grandfather's imperial crown; and the Netherlands, thus become the province of an overwhelming empire, had soon cause to experience and repent the change in their situation. During the succeeding age this connexion with Spain gave rise to the most terrible as well as the most glorious event of their history.

Prior to the Burgundian dynasty, and under it,

the Netherlands, profiting by their natural advantages for commerce, had acquired considerable wealth. Their wealth secured to them a free though complicated constitution, and they gradually rose to be the first trading nation in the world. The fulness of prosperity, which we have described as existing at Bruges and Antwerp, was but the concentrated result of an adventurous industry, abundant riches, and a generous spirit of independence, disseminated over all the country.

At the accession of Charles V. the Netherlands abounded in resources beyond any other portion of his great dominions. The complex politics of this prince, his far-extended undertakings, gave him ample use for all their contributions, and his irresistible power allowed him to make various inroads on their freedom. The taxes he levied on them were immense, and granted unwillingly. He more than once introduced foreign troops into their towns, foreign officers into their government; the tribunals of the country were subjected to the revision of a supreme court established by the emperor at Brussels, and entirely devoted to his will. A still more glaring instance of his arbitrary procedure was the conduct he pursued with regard to religion. The new light of the Reformation, which in his reign was dazzling or illuminating every corner of Europe, had early found its way into the Netherlands, and excited instant notice there. Foreign merchants, assuming the liberty of

speech and action natural to persons in their situation, had already professed the doctrines of Luther. The Swiss and German soldiers of Charles were often Protestants; the nobles of the country were accustomed to study in the academies of Geneva; refugees from France and England were allured by the freedom of the Low Countries to escape from the pressure of domestic persecution, their mechanical skill or commercial capital was welcomed as a benefit, and their opinions were listened to with toleration or approval by a people in whom an intercourse with remote and dissimilar nations had softened the asperities of bigotry,—in whom the long possession of wealth and social comforts had developed a spirit of inquiry and comparison, while their trading prejudices, their exclusive respect for diligence, and their love of gain, were shocked at the expensive *unproductive* establishment—the lazy monks and haughty prelates—of a hierarchy, whose gorgeous splendours suggested no idea but that of useless cost to their calculating and unimaginative minds.

The art of printing circulated those speculations among the higher classes. Bands of adventurers, animated by the love of truth or the love of change, moved over the country from place to place to circulate them among the lower. To the serious, those *speakers*, as they were named, could preach with all the fervid zeal of missionaries and apostates; for the careless and light of heart

they had songs and farces, and buffooneries in every possible style of contrivance. Such multifarious causes did not work in vain. The Romish Church in the Netherlands, attacked at once by argument and ridicule, by enthusiasm and self-interest, was nodding to its fall before the danger had been met or even noticed. Its guardians at length awoke, and the usual expedients were put in motion.

Charles V. had agreed to tolerate the Evangelical creed in Germany because its professors were formidable in their united strength; but he seemed anxious to make amends for this compelled forbearance by a double severity in treating the heretics of the Netherlands. Contrary to the fundamental laws of the State—contrary to the universal wish, no less than to the voice of justice and humanity, he introduced religious tribunals into the country to superintend the execution of his *edicts*, in which the most stern and relentless vengeance had been denounced against any variation, however slight, from the Romish creed. The guilt of having advanced heretical doctrines, of having even assisted at a secret meeting of the Reformed, was punished with death—by the axe, if the culprit was a man; women were buried alive. A relapsed heretic was committed to the flames, and no recantation availed him. The ministers of Charles were diligent enough in their obedience. Fifty thousand persons perished on the scaffold

here, "suffering for conscience sake," during his reign. No privacy, however sacred, was secure; no age, or sex, or rank was spared, and this once cheerful land was overshadowed with grief, and terror, and silence. Posterity have learned, with a kind of satisfaction, that in his old age and retirement Charles himself began to doubt that the spirit which had never felt for the fate of another, was doomed in its feebleness to experience the blackest terrors for its own fate, and to leave the world it had wasted and deformed under *a weight of blood* which superstition itself could no longer alleviate.

Charles, however, was less a bigot than a despot; he relaxed his cruelties when he found they would interfere with the prosperity of a country whose revenues he needed so much, and he preferred allowing the continuance of erroneous doctrines at Antwerp, to the hazard of destroying the commerce of the city in extirpating them by an Inquisition similar to that of Spain. The people, too, were inclined to suffer much at his hands. He was their countryman, spoke their language, adopted their manners, and visited them often. The fame of his victories, his talents, and his power, laid hold of their admiration; and the promotions which he lavished on their chief men secured him a permanent interest among the inferior. And if all those persuasives could not *lead* to obedience, the extent of his other do-

minions was sufficient to *force* it. The prompt and hard punishment to which he had condemned the mutinous inhabitants of Ghent was a lesson of humility and submission to all.

But in the case of Philip II., his son, everything was different. With a heart as stony as his father's, Philip united an intellect vastly inferior by nature, and the gloomy tutelage of monks had narrowed and obscured it still farther. He was born in Spain, and the harsh sadness of his temper was best fitted to relish the solemn and monotonous style of society prevalent there. In his youth he had been sent to visit the Netherlands, that his presence might conciliate the affections of the people; but his haughty deportment, his unaccommodating character, produced quite an opposite effect. Philip loved not the Netherlands, and the feeling was mutual. At the abdication of his father (1556) the State evinced their distrust of Philip's intentions by the vain attempt which they made to guard against them. The splendour of a spectacle so extraordinary could not lull their vigilance, and an additional oath was imposed on Philip forbidding every shadow of innovation in the established laws of the country.

The suspicions which arose so early were soon abundantly confirmed. By the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, Philip was delivered from all foreign enemies, yet he obstinately continued, under the shallowest pretences, to retain a body of Spanish

troops, occupying the garrisons and consuming the resources of the country. The edicts of his father were brought forward anew, and the more strict and impressive execution of them was intrusted to Cardinal Granvella, a man whose inflexible disposition and consummate political skill were well fitted for the purposes of Philip, but whose proud contemptuous behaviour disgusted the nobles, while his rigid severity exasperated the people. Under the advice or superintendence of this man, Philip appointed Margaret of Parma, a natural daughter of Charles V., to be regent of the Netherlands, and returned to Spain, where complaints and representations were not slow to follow him. The foreign troops had remained till long after the promised period; the spiritual tribunals were active; and the cardinal, who had never been popular, was fast acquiring universal execration. The appointment of fourteen new bishoprics showed Philip's zeal to exterminate heretical doctrine, but was highly disagreeable to every class of the community. It dissatisfied the nobles because it abridged their political importance by the addition of so many votes entirely at the royal disposal in their deliberative assemblies; the existing clergy, because it divided and extenuated their revenue; the people, because it was meant to cramp their freedom.

The national discontent had begun to exhibit itself in actual commotions before Philip, having

vainly tried every subterfuge, could be prevailed on to recall his minister (1564), and give promises to remit the execution of his father's edicts, and redress the many grievances of the State. Nor was the calm which these occurrences diffused of long continuance. Philip intended nothing so little as allowing the growth of heresy, and he saw no method but that of persecution for preventing it. In place, therefore, of removing the inquisitorial court, which differed only in name from the Spanish Inquisition, and which all men, Catholics as well as Reformed, agreed in abhorring, he transmitted express orders to his representative, the Duchess of Parma, to quicken the movements of that tribunal, and protect its decrees with all the force of the civil power. The Inquisition needed no such stimulus. It had already done its work effectually enough to frighten one hundred thousand families from their native country; and now, when no hope appeared of deliverance from it, the people rose in many towns of Flanders (1566), forced the prisons of the Inquisition, and set free all who were confined there on religious accusations, delivering themselves up at the same time, as might have been expected, to many other measures of a less excusable nature. This uproar would have been appeased, or would soon have sunk away of itself, but in the meanwhile most of the nobles—participating in the discontents of the populace,

to which peculiar discontents were added in their own case—seconded, though they affected not to countenance, the popular proceedings, and formed themselves into a combination, which has become known to history by the epithet *Gueux* (beggars), applied to the members of it in contempt by a minion of the Court when they appeared in Brussels to lay their petition and remonstrance before the regent. The name *Gueux* was adopted with an indignant smile by the confederacy itself, and the symbols of beggary, the wallet and staff in miniature, became the rallying emblems of the dissatisfied, and were to be seen on the persons of men and women over all the country.

Alarmed by these unequivocal symptoms of general revolt, Philip despatched the Duke of Alva from Spain, at the head of ten thousand men, to enforce obedience, and avenge the opposition already shown to his mandates. The Duchess of Parma was glad to retire from the storm, which, in contrasting Alva's character with the circumstances of the state, she saw clearly to be approaching, and Alva was appointed governor in her stead. His entrance upon office was the signal for universal despair. Bigoted in his creed, immovable in his determinations, savage in his temper, he hated the Flemings for the favour shown them in the former reign, and the country soon groaned under the weight of his resentment. With his council of twelve, nominated by himself,

and entirely at his discretion, he proceeded strongly in the work of destruction, and the scaffolds soon reeked with the blood of thousands, guilty or innocent, as they happened to incur his displeasure. The people were driven to madness, they wanted but a leader to rise in open rebellion, and brave the very utmost of their tyrant's fury. A leader was soon presented to them, and one fitted for the crisis beyond any other person of his time.

William, Prince of Orange, was the representative of the noble family of Nassau, which had once given an emperor to Germany, and for many ages had occupied an honourable rank among the chiefs of that country. Early taken under the protection of Charles V., he had lived constantly at Court, enjoying the intimate familiarity of that monarch, and participating in all his secrets. William's circumspect demeanour procured him the surname of *Silent;* but under this cold exterior he concealed a busy, far-sighted intellect and a generous, upright, daring heart. He had extensive possessions in the Netherlands, and had been employed there by Charles in various important duties, in the discharge of which his talents, his integrity, his manners had procured him universal confidence and respect. Disappointed in his expectation of the regency under Philip, who hated and feared him, he had continued to act with the same calm stedfastness

equally resisting the arbitrary measures of Government, and repressing the rash attempts of the harassed people. On Alva's approach he retired to Germany, and the fate of Count Egmont, who shared the national favour with him, and had perished on the scaffold at Antwerp for no other crime but sharing it, soon showed how prudent this step had been. The tribunal which had condemned his friend now summoned William to appear likewise, and as he naturally refused to comply, they proceeded to confiscate his property and brand him as a traitor. William was not of a humour to brook such treatment tamely, and patriotism combined with ambition to strengthen his purpose of finding redress. Having formed an alliance with several princes of Germany, and collected a body of troops, which multitudes of Flemish exiles were rapidly augmenting, he formally renounced his allegiance to the governor, and entered Friesland at the head of an army (1569).

His beginning was unsuccessful. Alva hastened to meet him; the raw soldier could not stand against the veteran; William retired into Germany once more, and the Spaniard returned in triumph to Brussels. But his triumph was not long undisturbed. He had erected a statue of himself in the citadel of Antwerp; he had represented it as treading under foot two smaller statues emblematic of the States of the Netherlands,

and was proceeding quickly to demonstrate the correctness of this allegorical device, by levying the most oppressive taxes of his own authority, and massacring, with every circumstance of ignominy and savageness, all such as refused to comply with his requisitions, when his bloody career was interrupted by intelligence that the town of Brille was taken, and the whole island ready to revolt. He hastened thither to quell the tumult, and crush the *Gueux* patriots, or pirates as he called them, who had caused it.

But the infamy of his conduct preceded him. William of Orange, under whose instructions the conquerors of Brille had acted, was advancing from the east with a fresh army, and the entire provinces of Zealand and Holland simultaneously threw off the Spanish yoke. Alva made vast efforts, but they were fruitless. He took Naerden and Haarlem and butchered their inhabitants, but he failed before Alcmaer; a fleet which he put to sea with great exertion was defeated and destroyed by the Zealanders; and on Philip's order he returned to Spain to boast that in five years he had delivered eighteen thousand heretics into the hands of the executioner, and to meet the reward which such a servant of such a prince unfortunately does not always meet—the suspicion and hatred of a master for whom he had sacrificed honour and humanity, and condemned himself to permanent and universal detestation.

Requesens succeeded Alva. He was a milder and a better man, but the time for mildness was gone by. Some years before, a governor like Requesens might have retained the Netherlands under Philip; but the horrors of Alva's regency, the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France, had put to flight "respective lenity," and "fire-eyed fury" was their conduct now. It is dangerous to drive even the feeblest of creatures to despair, and Philip found he had calculated too far on the phlegmatic patience of his northern subjects. The dull perseverance of their ordinary character was now changed into a grim and adamantine fixedness of purpose to suffer all, to dare all, but never to submit. "Talk not of surrender," replied they to Valdez, the general of Requesens at the siege of Leyden, when famine was already carrying them in hundreds to the grave; "our provisions are not exhausted, and if they were, if all else should fail, we would eat our left arms and fight with our right, that we might die fighting against our tyrants." Their firmness on this occasion was rewarded. The sluices were opened, the country was laid under water, a strong south-west wind rendered fruitless every attempt to drain it, and the Spaniard made a frightful retreat, leaving the flower of his army buried in the marshes, or hewn to pieces by the Flushing boat-men who hung upon his skirts, with fury and revenge in their hearts—their harsh counte-

nances rendered harsher by scars sustained from the same enemy in former broils, and their caps surmounted each by a crescent, having the inscription, "Turks before Papists."

This ineffectual siege of Leyden is the most remarkable transaction of Requesens in the Low Countries. It was followed (1575) by some abortive attempts at negotiation, the Emperor Rodolph and our Queen Elizabeth acting as mediators. Neither party was in a mood for negotiating, and Philip instructed Requesens to prosecute the war with fresh vigour. The latter endeavoured to comply; he was beaten back at Woerden, but he reduced Ziriczee, had entered Zealand, and was meditating an attack on Holland, when death overtook him suddenly, and the Netherlands were left without a governor.

The death of Requesens at this juncture was a keen blow to the Spanish interests. The troops had received no pay for many months; the absence of a general made them clamorous in their demand; and as no funds existed to satisfy it, they renounced the control of their officers, spread over the country in search of plunder, sacked the city of Antwerp with the most horrible outrages, and seized upon the fortress of Alost, from which they threatened other towns with a similar violence.

The southern provinces had hitherto participated rather in the feelings than the actions of their re-

volted countrymen, and the seat of war had been chiefly in Holland and Zealand. But this fearful visitation roused even the most timorous. In 1576 all the States united themselves by a treaty named the Pacification of Ghent, having for its object to expel the foreign soldiery and restore the ancient liberties of the country; and Don John, the new governor, found all the Netherlands, except Luxemburg, shut against his approach. Don John's ambitious views induced him to temporise; he affected to sanction the Pacification of Ghent, was received peacefully into his Government, and the country had liberty to breathe for a moment. It was but for a moment. Don John watched his opportunity to seize the Castle of Namur; he recalled the Spanish troops, and the fire of war was kindled again. His opponents were little able to resist, and their strength was still farther weakened by intestine division.

The Prince of Orange's guarded and patriotic behaviour could not appease the jealousy of the Catholic confederates, or quench the envy of his ancient rival, the Duke of Arschot, who affected to lead them, as William did the Protestant party. While the latter, therefore, made application to Queen Elizabeth for assistance, the other privately invited the Archduke Matthias, brother and afterwards successor of the emperor Rodolph II., to come and take upon himself the office of governor. The Prince of Orange was too quick-sighted and

too public-spirited to let slip so fair an opportunity of at once acquiring strength by foreign connexions, and sowing discord between the German and Spanish members of the Austrian family. He accordingly welcomed Matthias on his unexpected arrival at Antwerp, and persuaded the States to set him at their head. The Prince himself was appointed his lieutenant, and Arschot's plan was doubly unsuccessful. But neither did William's turn out according to his hope. Matthias received no support from Germany, and soon fell into contempt, while Don John, reinforced by the celebrated Alessandro Farnese, Prince of Parma, with eighteen thousand veterans, had beaten the army of the States at Gembloux, and was making rapid progress in the subjugation of the provinces.

Don John died soon after — of poison by Philip, it was suspected, or of chagrin at the failure of his schemes on the English Crown, which he had dreamed of obtaining with the hand of Mary Queen of Scots; but his death brought no relief to the confederacy. Matthias returned without honour to Prague; the Duke of Anjou, who was next called in, could be of little service; and while Parma was advancing in his conquests, the Duke of Arschot was smoothing the way for him by fostering divisions and cabals among the provinces to be attacked.

To obviate the evils of dissension, William

assembled the northern or Protestant States, among whom his influence was the most extensive, and who hitherto had stood the brunt of the war alone. He was fortunate enough at last to combine them into a permanent whole.

On the 23rd of January 1579, was signed the famous UNION OF UTRECHT, at the city whose name it bears, by deputies from the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Gelderland. It was the fundamental article of the Dutch Republic, destined after to become so conspicuous an agent in the political transactions of Europe. The main stipulations, for the present, were, that the Seven Provinces should join themselves in interest as one, each individual still retaining its own private customs; that in disputes between two the rest should interfere only as mediators, and that all should assist each with life and fortune against every foreign enemy. Separately, the provinces were weak; and though united as firmly as the bundle of arrows, the badge and emblem of their alliance, it might still seem doubtful if this new republic would survive its infancy. Its members had not faltered in the contest, but they doubted of the issue themselves. Their first coin was stamped with the image of a ship struggling amid the waves without oars or sails, and the motto was, *Incertum quo fata ferant.*

It was indeed a perilous enterprise in which

they were engaged. A small community of fishers and herdsmen, hitherto unknown among nations, had come down into the lists against a monarch before whom the most powerful kingdoms of the world had lately trembled for their liberties. With no resources but their own activity, no tactics but their own despair, the Dutch had ventured to defy the commander of the veterans of Charles V. and the possessor of the American mines. The contest at first view might appear hopeless, and preferable to submission, only as dying nobly on the field of battle is preferable to dying unjustly on the scaffold. A closer inspection, however, showed the prospect in less gloomy colours. The Hollanders were poor, but the enemy's wealth lay widely scattered, and bold adventure might snatch a part of it. The Flemish exiles, driven from the peaceful occupations of the land, had betaken themselves in great numbers to another element, and the rich fleets of Spain were often captured by them. By degrees, too, the trade which was thus obstructed, sought out other channels, and Holland, the asylum of the persecuted from every nation (who were naturally the most inquisitive and enterprising of each nation), soon abounded in persons fitted for all kinds of commerce, and ready to grasp at every branch of it within their reach. As their maritime speculations prospered, greater numbers and more capital became engaged in them. They

at length acquired a navy, which could venture to the Indies and strike at the root of their oppressor's prosperity.

Philip had impoverished and ruined that part of the Netherlands which still adhered to him; the Indian trade of his Portuguese subjects was snatched away before it could reward the labour of conquering Portugal, and keeping it conquered; and Spain, at no time distinguished for commerce, had already begun to sink into that state of languor from which it has never since awoke. The gold of Potosi, in spite of all his efforts, found its way to the markets of Amsterdam; his own subjects did not manufacture, and the very equipment of his armies gave vigour and riches to the people they were sent to subdue. His forces seemed numerous, but his plans were still more so. The jealousy entertained against his father continued to subsist, though the power which had given rise to it was fast ceasing. A kind of Catholic knight-errantry made Philip take part in every religious quarrel which agitated Europe during that period; his armies and his treasures were repeatedly called from their most necessary functions to lend assistance to the partisans of the League in France. Ambition made him seize the crown of Portugal; ambition combined with resentment and fanaticism to make him grasp at that of England. And each new undertaking, each new acquirement, while it weakened his own

strength by extending it over a wider surface, procured for the Hollanders, openly or secretly, a new ally.

With William of Orange at its head, therefore, the new confederacy did not despair. Philip, who knew the Prince's importance, attempted to detach him by promises and gifts; when this was found to be impossible, he set a price upon his head. Superstitious fervour so justified and rewarded was likely in time to find some wicked maniac whom it could convert into an assassin. A first attempt failed, a second was successful. Balthazar Gerard murdered the Prince of Orange at Delft (1584), being impelled, as he stated at first, by the Divinity, but allured also, as he afterwards confessed, by the less elevated hope of Philip's earthly recompence to do the deed. Philip's memory can suffer little by this imputation; the murderer of his own son could blacken his character no farther in the way of *murder*.

William's death was a heavy stroke to his fellow citizens; but in proportion as it excited grief for the fate and for the loss of their leader, it rendered more implacable their hatred of his destroyer. Nor was their situation yet so low as Spain believed. The Duke of Anjou, their late governor, had left them, indeed, with feelings of irritation and disgust, which were repaid him with usury; but William's exertions had kept the Prince of Parma busied in the southern provinces,

where much work still remained for him. By William's negotiations, seconded by the suspicious measures of Philip, Elizabeth of England, though she rejected the sovereignty of the Netherlands repeatedly offered to her, had been induced to lend them secret assistance in troops and money, and she now openly espoused their quarrel. As security for payment, the States delivered up to her the towns of Brill and Flushing, with the Castle of Rammekens; and she sent them an army, with the Earl of Leicester to be their governor. Leicester dissatisfied the people, and was recalled, but the soldiers continued, and being joined under Lord Willoughby, with the forces of the republic, were placed at the disposal of Maurice, the late Prince's son, a young man whom the gratitude of his country had raised to the station of governor, and who soon showed talents that would have deserved it independently of gratitude.

His talents, however, were all required in this emergency; and but for other circumstances, they would hardly have sufficed to meet it. Parma had already secured Ghent, Bruges, and lastly Antwerp, the hardest of his conquests, as well as the most serviceable. In the south, everything must soon have been entirely at his disposal, and Holland might then have justly trembled before his accumulated force. But Philip's wars with England, his Invincible Armada, thinned the

ranks of Parma, and dissipated the treasures which should have maintained him. In addition to this, that general was twice despatched to France, to mingle in battles which had no bearing on his own success; and the Dutch, now strongly supported by Elizabeth, frequently undid in his absence what it had cost him infinite pains to effect before his departure. Between Maurice and Philip the task of Parma was like Penelope's web—no skill or energy could avail him. Compelled to vibrate between France and Holland, he accomplished nothing permanent in either. During his second invasion of the former country he had succeeded in thwarting the plans of Henry IV. both at Paris and Rouen. These were the last of his triumphs; he died at Arras next year (1592), and the Spanish cause in Holland died along with him.

Mansfeld, Ernest, Fuentes, his successors, impeded in their efforts by the French war, disobeyed by ill-appointed and mutinous troops, performed nothing of importance. The latter even lost Breda and Gertruydenburg to Prince Maurice. At length, in 1598, Philip closed his restless reign. The burden which had galled him nearly forty years had long ago vanquished even *his* obstinacy, and Albert of Austria, husband of the Infanta Isabella, had some time previously been promised the sovereignty of the Netherlands, with merely a reversion in favour of Spain should that princess

die childless. Philip III. punctually obeyed the intentions of his father, but the States of Holland listened in silence to Albert's claim. At the head of a great army, he prepared to enforce it. Prince Maurice met him at Nieuport (1600), and with the aid of Sir Francis Vere, and the English auxiliaries led by him, gained a complete and splendid victory. Albert wasted his remaining forces in the trenches of Ostend; the town was gallantly maintained by Vere and his followers, and did not yield even to the talents of Spinola till after it had stood a siege of three years, and cost him above seventy thousand men. Under the same able general, Spain, to whom the reversion of the Netherlands was now become secure, Isabella having no children, made a last effort far beyond its diminished strength. But new efforts yielded no adequate result; Philip was weary of the contest, and, by the advice of Spinola, he agreed to treat of peace.

After innumerable obstructions and delays on the part of the Dutch, who had now begun to reap profit from the war, and principally on the part of Maurice's faction, who hoped to make it serviceable to his ambition, a truce of twelve years was at last concluded by the mediation of France and England at the Hague in 1609, Spain acknowledging the United Provinces as a free republic, and granting them every privilege which a free country has a right to demand. The revolt

in Bohemia, which was already breaking out, the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus and his victorious progress in Germany, soon gave full employment elsewhere to all the branches of the Hapsburg family. Combined with the vigorous administration of Richelieu, those events extinguished in Spain all desire of renewing its pretensions to Holland. No further hostilities occurred, and a definitive treaty was signed in 1647, and ratified at the great Peace of Westphalia next year, securing the rights of the United Provinces in the most ample manner, and finally stipulating the continuance of peace and free intercourse between two nations whose strife had been so lengthened, so obstinate, and so bloody.

After the termination of this contest, which had established the freedom of seven provinces and riveted the chains of ten, the history of the Netherlands presents nothing equally remarkable. What remains of it may be despatched more briefly. Belgium continued quietly subject to Spain, and lost all its commerce and enterprise; Holland went on rapidly increasing in both. Cornelius Houtmann had led the way to India in 1599; the Portuguese settlements, then subject to Spain, were in no condition to resist, and the Dutch by degrees acquired almost the whole of that lucrative trade. They planted colonies in the spice islands of the East; they gained settlements in America; their naval power continued to

augment; they gradually became the factors and carriers of Europe. It is true their government, at peace from without, was not equally at peace from within; theological disputes between Arminius and Gomar, to which political feeling soon became conjoined, had agitated the people violently in 1619, and tarnished the name of Prince Maurice by his share in the persecution of Grotius and the death of the Pensionary Barnevelt.

A more strict republican party also afterwards arose under the auspices of the De Witts, who had force and dexterity enough at the death of William II. (1650) to procure the abolition of the Stadtholdership. But those political fermentations slightly affected the industry and success of the great body of the nation. The public prosperity was stedfastly advancing; it had mounted so high in 1652, that the States did not hesitate to throw down the gauntlet to England, though her power was at that time wielded by the firm and steady hand of Cromwell.

Naval superiority was the subject of this contest, commercial and political jealousy embittered it. The Dutch had given refuge and countenance to many of the exiled Royalists; their admirals refused to pay to the British the customary acknowledgment of superiority; Van Tromp, on the contrary, placed a broom at his mast-head, to signify that *he* would *sweep* the seas and reign triumphant in them. But the cannon of Blake soon levelled

this rude emblem and the claim which it typified; De Ruyter and Van Tromp were beaten by him off Portland in 1653, after a furious contest of two days, and next year Van Tromp was shot through the body, off the coast of Holland, while gallantly animating his men on the *third* morning of a battle which his energy alone had protracted so long. Monk was the victor on this occasion. The Dutch were glad to make peace, and leave the dominion of the ocean in the hands where it was, and has ever since continued.

A severer trial awaited the Dutch Republic shortly afterwards. In 1668, Louis XIV., profiting by the feebleness of Spain, had entered the Low Countries with an army which bore down all opposition. He soon conquered Belgium, he made himself master of Franche Compté, and was fast extending his dominions on every side, when the Triple Alliance, concluded at the Hague in 1669, arrested his ambitious career. Irritated by the share which Holland had taken in this transaction, Louis made great preparations for revenge. The profligate ministry of our Charles II. was hired to support his views, and in 1672 he crossed the Rhine at the head of an immense army. Basely deserted by their natural ally, agitated by internal factions, the Dutch had nothing but a few undisciplined troops, and a general scarcely arrived at manhood, wherewith to oppose the progress of one hundred and thirty thousand

veterans, led on by Condé, Turenne, and Vauban. The issue could scarce be doubtful; Louis overran the country in a few weeks, and Amsterdam was soon the last asylum of Dutch liberty. The De Witts proposed surrendering, but the States, with their young general — William, Prince of Orange—at their head, determined on a braver expedient.* Preferring independence to every other advantage, they opened the sluices of their sea-dykes, and Amsterdam once more became an island of the ocean from which it had been gained. The king returned into France, his generals retired out of Holland, and before the triumphal arch at the gate of St. Denis, in honour of his *conquest*, was completed, Louis possessed no foot of ground within the conquered territories. Far from yielding, the Dutch in their turn became aggressors, and their young prince, now appointed Stadtholder, ever henceforth continued the unwearied and successful adversary of all the covetous schemes of Louis. By his efforts the present war was ended in 1679, and when he mounted the throne of England his augmented power still thwarted the increasing projects of France. In 1697 the Treaty of Ryswick concluded a new

* It is mournful to add that this heroism of the Dutch was tarnished by the murder of Cornelius De Witt, and of his brother John, one of the greatest characters whom Holland or Europe has ever produced. They were massacred by the populace at the Hague in the most brutal and barbarous manner.

war of eight years, in the conduct of which he had been indefatigable, in the result of which he was superior, and before his death he had prepared the materials of that coalition which, under Marlborough and Prince Eugene, brought Louis to the brink of ruin.

The Peace of Utrecht saved Louis from absolute destruction, and consigned Belgium to the throne of Austria, that of Spain being now filled by a Bourbon. The Dutch had exerted themselves vigorously in all those quarrels; but from this period their internal prosperity began to languish, their political importance gradually to lessen. The English had acquired their arts and manufactures, and almost entirely supplanted their East India commerce. The American colonies, added to this, gave the English Navy an irresistible preponderance. Holland still continued diligent and contented; but the rise of neighbouring nations had eclipsed its power. About the middle of the last century it was further threatened with the calamities of foreign invasion. When Maria Theresa's right to the imperial throne was disputed in 1740, the Dutch had taken up her side; the French that of the Elector of Bavaria. During the contest, Louis XV. had penetrated into the Netherlands, and the Maréchal de Saxe had conquered Belgium for him. In 1748 the same general made an attack on Holland. Bergen-op-Zoom had fallen, Maestricht was fall-

ing, and the Dutch barrier must have been forced had not the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored Belgium to Austria, while it secured the deliverance of Holland, put a stop to hostilities.

The Dutch took no part in the seven years' war. A long period of outward tranquillity was only disturbed by contests between the people and the Stadtholder, whose office had been declared hereditary in the Orange family in the year 1747. The French Revolution and the victories of Dumourier took Belgium from Austria in 1792; it was recovered next summer, but the recovery was only for a year, and confirmed the victors in their conquest. Those apostles of change were eagerly welcomed by the Dutch people soon after. But the latter had quickly reason to repent of this predilection. The French oppressed Holland with every species of tyranny; even Louis Bonaparte, for whom it had been erected into a kingdom, gave it up in despair. Various attempts to relieve it failed, till at last, in 1814, the successes of the allied sovereigns put the Low Countries into their hands. The British Cabinet accomplished its often projected scheme, Belgium was united with the seven provinces into the KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS, and the Prince of Orange, who had taken refuge in England, now ascended the throne, where he has since continued undisturbed.

The kingdom thus newly formed extends over a space of about twenty-four thousand British square miles, thirteen thousand four hundred of them being Belgic territory, the rest Dutch, and contains a population of five millions two hundred and twenty-six thousand inhabitants, which (excluding the military) are distributed among the various provinces as follows:—

Holland	750,000
East Flanders . .	602,000
West Flanders . .	521,000
Hainaut	431,000
South Brabant . .	366,000
Liège	355,000
Limburg	393,000
North Brabant . .	252,000
Antwerp	250,000
Gelderland . . .	244,000
Luxemburg . . .	220,000
Friesland . . .	177,000
Namur	157,000
Overyssel . . .	148,000
Groningen . . .	136,000
Zealand	112,000
Utrecht	108,000
Dronthe	47,000

The resources of the Netherlands, so long in a declining condition, have not yet had time to recover perceptibly. The annual revenue scarcely exceeds seven millions sterling, and the expenditure fully equals it. The navy, which could once cope with that of England, has now shrunk into twelve ships of the line, with twenty-four frigates, and costs only five hundred thousand pounds a year. An additional two million pounds of the

national income is devoted to support a military establishment of fifty thousand regular troops; the services of religion, all paid from the public treasury, require two hundred and seventy thousand pounds; and a government debt of one hundred and forty million pounds consumes nearly all the rest. The interest of the latter is moderate, or the country could not bear it; at two or two and a half per cent. its amount does not reach far beyond three million pounds.

Fifty thousand soldiers may seem a force disproportionate to the means of so small a State; they are rendered necessary, however, by the long and defenceless frontier of the kingdom, and by the number of colonies yet subject to it in various quarters of the world. None of those settlements is at present very flourishing or important, some are in a state of permanent decay. In Asia, there are Java, with the lesser governments of Amboyna, Ternate, Malacca, Macassar, and some factories on the coasts of Coromandel and Persia; in Africa, thirteen small forts on the Guinea coast; in the West Indies, Surinam on the mainland; Curaçoa, St. Eustatius, and St. Martin. Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, still permitted to trade with their mother country, are now under the dominion of Great Britain.

The political machinery by which those resources are managed, the form of government in the Netherlands, bears a close resemblance to that

of Britain. A king possessed of all the executive authority; two Houses of Parliament possessed of all the legislative; the Sovereign's inviolability; the responsibility of his Ministers,—sufficiently point out the model according to which the whole has been constructed. At the same time, several weighty distinctions occur—so weighty, indeed, as to render this general similarity more formal than substantial.

One leading distinction is the existence of provincial States, whose office it is to superintend the execution of the laws in their several districts, the expenditure of local magistrates, of religious functionaries; to take charge of the public works, and, what is more important than all, to elect the members of the lower House of Parliament, a third of whom are thus changed annually, the States themselves being filled up by the people. This lower House of Parliament, so differently nominated, differs equally from our House of Commons in its functions and dignity. The members accept a petty salary (two hundred and twenty pounds), they can originate no motion, their number is small,* their influence compara-

* It is 110 only; 55 are chosen from the northern province, as many from the southern—in the following proportions:—

North Brabant	7	Gelderland	6	Holland	22
Utrecht	3	Friesland	5	Overyssel	4
Groningen	4	Dronthe	1	South Brabant	8
Limburg	4	Liege	6	East Flanders	10
West Flanders	8	Hainaut	8	Zealand	3
Namur	2	Antwerp	5	Luxemburg	4

tively inconsiderable. The upper house is still more strongly contrasted with our House of Lords. The Belgic *Peers* (between forty and sixty in number) are not hereditary, they are nominated by the king for life, can bring in no bill on their own authority any more than the Commons, and, like them, receive a paltry wage (two hundred and seventy pounds).

The Crown being thus invested with the power of regulating the deliberations of its poor and feeble Parliament, and excluding all importunate discussions, the popular branch of the Belgic government has but a slender influence compared with that of the British; the mode of its election, the character and rank of its members, must alike conspire to render its limitation of the Sovereign's proceedings feeble at any time, altogether ineffectual if the Sovereign were enterprising and ambitious of arbitrary power. The Orange family, however, shows no such sinister desire; a system of equal laws is administered by judges appointed *ad vitam aut culpam;* the taxes are not more heavy than is seen to be indispensably necessary; the press is free, and the people feel no inclination to repine at their condition.

They are remarkable, indeed, for their quietism in regard to politics, and a similar principle now extends also to religion. In the Netherlands there is, properly speaking, no established religion, the followers of every sect being eligible to all offices

in the State, and the preachers of every sect not only tolerated but paid by the Government funds.

In the northern provinces Calvinism is the prevailing doctrine, and the Court is of the same persuasion. The Catholic creed prevails in the southern provinces; in the whole kingdom its followers outnumber the Protestants in more than the proportion of two to one. But the wealth of either Church is small, the salary of a clergyman seldom amounting to two hundred pounds, frequently bordering on seventy pounds, and the Government, extending its protection to all ministers of religion indiscriminately, is enabled to secure the adherence, and profit by the influence, of all.

In regard to education, there is a rather liberal provision in the Netherlands. Parish schools have long been established in Holland, and an additional arrangement renders them more effective than elsewhere. There is a classification introduced among the schoolmasters of Holland. Four ranks are settled by law; no one is allowed to begin teaching till he has enrolled himself in one of those ranks, and two special commissions exist in each province for examining the qualifications of an applicant, and issuing his licence to give instruction in the prescribed branches, if his trial prove satisfactory. In Belgium, without any parochial establishment, a competent school-

master is yet generally to be found in every village.

The higher departments of learning — the *four languages* as they are called, Latin, French, German, English, with the elements of mathematics, rhetoric, and some minor accomplishments— are taught in the *royal schools* in most of the principal towns. There is a military academy at Dort, a naval one at Sluys, and the religious bodies have in many cases seminaries of their own. To complete the system, there are six universities: that of Leyden, that of Utrecht, the smaller though older one of Groningen, that of Louvain—*re*-opened in 1816 by a royal charter, which also created two new ones—that of Ghent, and that of Liège. Some of those establishments were once flourishing and renowned, they are now but poorly attended. The professors have participated imperfectly in the modern progress of science; their lectures are monotonous, and still delivered in Latin.

The Netherlands, with all its apparatus for education, is not an intellectual country. It has no national literature—none current among its people or at all known to foreigners. The Dutch language is unfavourable to this purpose; and the Flemish, a kindred dialect of the German, and differing from the former chiefly in accent, is not more so. Vondel is almost the only native poet of Holland. He lived towards the end of the

seventeenth century in the humble capacity of a tailor, and wrote tragedies, which, in spite of their rude barbarous extravagance, are said to display gleams of a high dramatic genius. This mental poverty, however, proceeds from no want of faculties in the people. The telescope and the art of printing are Dutch inventions.

In former times Holland, if it had no national literature, was inferior to few countries in any of those departments which depend on the exercise of a just intellect and patient observation. Erasmus and Grotius in moral science, Huyghens, Boerhaave, Swammerdam, Leuwenhoek, in natural, are universally known. The intellectual fame of the southern provinces, again, rests chiefly on their painters. It is unnecessary to do more than mention the names of Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt. Belgium has produced authors too, though in a smaller number. Lipsius, well known to classical scholars, was a native of Brussels. Froissart and Philip de Commines were both Walloons, though their birth-places are now included in France. At present the Netherlands are not without many men of cultivated understandings, who are useful and admired at home, but their fame hardly extends to other countries, and the great Lights of Europe must all be sought for elsewhere.

See Watson's "Histories of Philip II. and of Philip III.;" Schiller's eloquent and philosophical

fragment, the *Geschicte des Abfalls der vereinigten Neiderlande;* Voltaire's *Siècles de Louis XIV. et de Louis XV.;* Raynall's *Histoire du Stadthouderat.* See also Mitchell's "Travels in Belgium;" Boyce's "Belgian Traveller;" Reichard's *Guide des Voyageurs*, section PAYS BAS.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

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NEWFOUNDLAND, an island on the east coast of America, opposite the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is separated from the Continent on the north by the Strait of Belleisle, about twenty-one miles wide. It is of a triangular form, extending from 46 deg. 45 min. to 51 deg. 46 min. north latitude, and from 52 deg. 31 min. to 59 deg. 40 min. west longitude. The length is about 380 miles, the breadth from 40 to 287, the circuit 900, and the surface is estimated at 35,500 square miles.

The shore of this island is lofty, desolate, and rocky; but its serrated structure renders it abundant in excellent ports. The whole circumference of Newfoundland is indented, at intervals of two or three miles, by deep bays, having generally a smooth bottom, and a rivulet of pure fresh water at the head. It is in such situations the inhabitants have built their hamlets, their fishing-craft being secured among the rocks. The interior of the country has been little explored, the wetness of the soil in summer, the coldness of the air in winter, rendering this a difficult and perilous

undertaking; but what little of it has been viewed, is not found more hospitable than the coast was inviting. A multitude of small lakes are observed, with copious marshes around them; hills of considerable elevation, scantily clothed with sorry birches or fir-trees, and spaces between, which, if not drenched with moisture, are frequently stretched out into plains of considerable size, bearing nothing but a few stunted shrubs and a little heath among the rocks which cover them. Almost the only practicable mode of travelling is by sledges on the frozen rivers.

The climate of Newfoundland is of a character with its soil. During great part of the year the south-east, the only inhabited portion of the island, is enveloped in almost perpetual vapours; ships crossing the Great Bank are obliged to ring bells lest they fall foul of each other, and the fortress of St. John's keeps firing a gun every half-hour to prevent them from running ashore against the rocks. The penguins of Bacalao Island are protected under a penalty by law, because their cry answers a similar purpose. In winter the cold is rigorous; the whole country is ice-bound, inaccessible to vessels, and beaten with whirlwinds of sleet and snow, from which, even when congealed, the breezes often load themselves with thousands of icy spiculæ, so minute that they penetrate the smallest aperture, and greatly augment the discomforts of the season.

Yet in the absence of these *frost-smokes*, as they are called, a Newfoundland winter is said to be less fierce than a Canadian one, and has some beauties peculiar to itself. The moon and stars shine with a lustre unknown in Europe, and the northern lights are often exhibited during the calm frost in all their brilliancy.

About the commencement of April some symptoms of thaw display themselves, and a few days completes the process. As in Siberia and such other regions, the snow is melted both from above and below; it soon yields to this double agency, and impetuous torrents, loaded with half-dissolved fragments and every kind of *débris*, rush headlong towards the coast from all points of the island. At the same period thousands of floating masses of ice arrive from Davis' Straits; they surround the shore on every side; they move in every direction; and their mutual shocks, aided by the agitation of a turbulent sea, with the deluge flowing from the land, produce a confusion which resembles chaos. Sometimes a strong *north-wester* will at once re-congeal everything, and bring winter back again with new bitterness. Before June, the summer, without any spring intervening, has arrived. The air is now hot to suffocation, and infested with mosquitoes. About the middle of August the weather begins to be moderate, some days are even said to be delightful. They are of short continuance; before the end of October the

fogs, never long absent at any season, have resumed their empire steadily, and this obscuration of the sun, the deeper hue and the harsher roaring of the sea, the prevalence of cold and snow, announce the approach of winter.

Of indigenous productions, Newfoundland exhibits no great variety. Its timber is not abundant or valuable. The principal use of it is for fuel and fishing stages. Some attempts were made at one time to construct ships of the larger trees, which, it is true, occur in no great quantity; but these vessels obtained from seamen who had tried them the ominous epithet of *Newfoundland coffins;* their utmost period of duration was seven years.

The native animals of the island are bears, otters, beavers, and red foxes, which are hunted in the winter season for their skins; and herds of deer, which are hunted for an additional reason. A few small horses are reared by the inhabitants, and some black cattle find a precarious livelihood during summer among the woods, returning home of their own accord at the beginning of winter, or every evening if they have young. Goats are numerous, and chiefly supply the people with milk. The web-footed dog of this island is celebrated for his aquatic powers; he serves in his own country frequently in the additional capacity of a beast of draught. The common opinion of his being the mongrel of a wolf and an European

dog appears to be erroneous. He resembles the Greenland dog in several respects, and seems to belong to a distinct species of his own. The animal commonly met with in England under this name is but half-bred.

Agriculture, it may well be supposed, can make no progress in such a soil and under such a sky. The artificial productions of this island are not more abundant than its natural. Potatoes are almost the only class of European vegetables which the people have succeeded in raising properly. They constitute a most valuable though insufficient portion of their ordinary food. Oats, or even wheat, will flourish during the warm months, but they do not arrive at perfection. Turnips, peas, salad, lettuce of various kinds can be produced in gardens, but the supply of them is so small that even the common dandelion is an object of desire. Melons and cucumbers are occasionally raised in hot-houses.

No minerals have been discovered here, though coal is by some thought to exist in considerable quantities. The *gold ore* of the early navigators proved to be a species of pyrites. But the most valuable mine of Newfoundland consists in the produce of its waters, "like which," as Bacon said concerning it, "of all the minerals there is none so rich." Besides abundance of salmon in its rivers, the shores of this island are frequented by numerous shoals of capelins, herrings, mackerel,

and, above all, by enormous multitudes of cod, the taking and curing of which gives employment to above one hundred thousand persons. The Great Bank, where they are principally found, lies to the south-east of the island, and measures not less than three hundred and thirty miles in length and seventy-five in breadth, the water on it, from fifteen to sixty fathoms deep, being everywhere peopled by those fishes, which, though millions of them have been taken annually for nearly three centuries, have not yet sensibly diminished in number. In regard to the hands it employs, Newfoundland is by far the greatest fishing-station in the world; and though no satisfactory estimate appears to have been formed of the exact quantity cured there of late years, it is known immensely to exceed the produce of any other fishery. Loffoden, in Norway, probably does not bear to it a higher proportion in this respect than that of one to five.*

The ships intended for the fishery on the south-east coast arrive early in June. Each takes her station opposite any unoccupied part of the beach where the fish may be most conveniently cured, and retains it till the end of the season. Formerly the master who arrived first on any station was constituted *fishing admiral*, and had by law the power of settling disputes among the other crews. But the jurisdiction of those *admirals* is now

* See Von Buch's "Travels in Lapland."

happily superseded by the regular functionaries who reside on shore. Each captain directs his whole attention to the collection of his own cargo without minding the concerns of his neighbour. Having taken down what part of the rigging is removeable, they set about their laborious calling, and must pursue it zealously. Their mode of proceeding is thus described by Mr. Anspach, a clerical person who lived in the island several years, and has since written a meagre and very confused book which he calls a *history* of it.

"The boats used for this purpose vary in their size and in the number of their crews, some having only two hands, and these frequently boys and girls merely old and strong enough to handle the line. Most boats, however, have four men, each with one line on each side of him, and these lines have two hooks, so that in these boats there are no less than sixteen hooks in constant employment. Each hook is furnished with such bait as the season affords — namely, first the entrails of the fish caught with jiggers; next herring, mackerel, lance, capelin, squids, or young cod; and in default of these, the flesh of sea-fowl.

"The boat having taken her station on a ledge, or other shoaly ground, each line being fastened on the inside of the boat, and the hooks baited, the man sits at an equal distance from the two hooks that are committed to his care, moving them from time to time. As soon as the least

tightness or motion is observed in the line, it is drawn up with all possible speed, and the fish thrown into the boat, where the hook is then disengaged from its mouth. If it is of a large size, it is seized as soon as raised to the surface of the water with a gaff or large hook fixed to the end of a pole, in order to prevent the disappointment often experienced in consequence of the fish, even when within reach of the hand, either disentangling itself from the hook by the excessive vivacity of its motions and wideness of its mouth, or breaking the line and disappearing at once with the hook and bait in its gills.

"When a sufficient quantity of fish has been taken to load the boat, it is then carried to the shore, in order to be cured; this must be done within a certain time, not exceeding eight-and-forty hours, otherwise the fish will lose of its value in proportion to the length of time it is kept without splitting.

"The place where the operation of curing the cod-fish is performed is a *stage*, or covered platform, erected on the shore, with one end projecting over the water, which is called the *stage-head*, and which is fortified with stouters or very strong shores, to prevent the stage from receiving any damage from ships or boats; it has also longers fixed horizontally at intervals, like so many steps to facilitate the ascent to the stage. On the fore part of this platform is a table, on one side of

which is the *cut-throat*, who takes the fish, cuts with a knife the throat down to the nape, and then pushes it to the *header*, on his right hand; the latter takes it in his left hand, and with the right draws out the liver, which he throws through a hole into a cask under the table, next the guts, which he throws through the *trunk-hole* in the floor of the stage into the sea; then fixing the neck of the fish to the edge of the table, which before him is semi-circular and sharp, he presses upon the neck with his left hand, to which a thick piece of leather called the *palm* has been fastened for that purpose, and with the right gives the body of the fish, which is uppermost, a violent jerk, which pushes it to the *splitter* opposite to him, while the head thus separated falls through an opening into the water. This operation requires such violent exertion that, besides the palm with which his left hand is armed, the seat on which he is sitting has a strong round back, which assists in collecting all his strength for the effort necessary to separate the head from the body of the fish.

"The splitter then taking the fish with his left hand, cuts it with the right, beginning at the nape down by the sound bone to the navel; and giving the knife a little turn to keep as close to the bone as possible, he continues cutting to the end of the tail; then raising the bone with the knife, he pushes the fish so split into the drudge-barrow,

and the sound bone into the sea through an opening close to him in the stage-floor. When the barrow is full, it is immediately carried to the salter, another being put in its place. This process of splitting is performed with considerable rapidity, though with the utmost care, because the value of the fish depends in a material degree upon its being correctly performed; if ruffled by frequent or interrupted cuttings, the fish would be disfigured. The tongues and sounds are sometimes reserved either for domestic uses or for sale, in which case they are thrown aside and immediately taken up by some other person, so as not to give the least interruption or hindrance to the work performing at the table.

"At the opposite end of the stage stands the *salter*, who, as soon as the drudge-barrow is brought to him, takes out the fishes one by one, and placing them in layers on one side of the stage, spreads on each some salt with his hand, taking particular care to apportion its quantity to the size of the fish and the degree of thickness of its several parts. This operation, which is continued until the *bulk* is of a proper size, requires particular attention, because, if the bulk is too high, the pressure of the fish in the upper layers will necessarily injure those in the lower layers. The province of the salter demands a perfect knowledge of the business and considerable experience and judgment, for everything

now depends upon him for the value of the whole voyage. If there is not a sufficient quantity of salt put to the fish, it will not keep; if there is too much, the place where the excess is will look dark and moist, when exposed to the sun it will be parched up, and when put back it will become moist again, and break in the handling of it; whereas, fish properly salted, when dry will be firm, and may be handled without breaking. The defect occasioned by an excess of salt is known in Newfoundland by the name of *salt-burning*. The proper quantity is about one hogshead of salt to ten quintals of fish; somewhat more if the fish is not to be dried immediately, but carried away *green* from the place where it is caught.

"The fish, after these primary operations, must remain five or six days in bulk, before it has sufficiently taken the salt; and after that period the sooner it is washed the better. For this purpose it is put into washing vats, or wooden vessels, generally seven or eight feet long, three and a half feet wide, and three deep. They first throw in two or three quintals, over which they pour a quantity of sea-water, gradually increasing the quantity of both till the vat is full. They then take up each fish separately, cleaning carefully the back and belly with a woollen cloth, and next lay it in a long even bulk on the stage-floor to drain. They resume the same process

until they have washed such a quantity of fish as they can manage next day. It may remain in drain-bulk no more than two days; if kept beyond that time, it will decay in weight, nor will it stand the weather so well on account of the salt getting out of it.

"The next day, or as soon after as the weather permits, the fish is spread out in the open air to dry, head to tail, the open side being exposed to the sun. This is done either upon a beach, or upon the ground, which is called *laying-room*, but more generally upon standing flakes. These last are of two sorts—namely, hand and broad flakes. The former consist of a slight wattle supported by posts, at such an elevation from the ground that a person standing can conveniently manage and turn the fish. The broad flakes consist of a set of beams supported by posts and shores, or stout pieces of timber standing perpendicularly under the beams, to which similar pieces are likewise fixed in a sloping position. In some places these broad flakes are as high as twenty or thirty feet from the ground. It is said that a free circulation of air is of considerable service to the fish while drying, hence high flakes are preferable to low ones, or to beaches, where, besides the want of a circulation of air, the back of the fish is liable to be *sun-burnt* if spread after the sun has heated the stones. But when the fish is dry, and spread only to make it

perfectly fit to be put on shipboard, beach or flake will serve equally well.

"Towards evening of the first day, two or three fishes are placed one over the other with their backs upwards, to prevent the open side from being injured by the wet or damp. Next morning the fish is again spread as before, and towards evening made into faggots of five or six, proceeding in the same manner, so as to increase the faggots to eight or ten on the third evening, and on the fourth to eighteen or twenty, always with the back upwards, and some larger ones on the top in a slanting position, so as to shoot off the rain or wet that may happen to fall during the night. On the fifth evening the faggots are made much larger; the fish is then considered as safe, and left in that state for a week, or even a fortnight, if there is a want of flake-room for the whole voyage, or the weather happens to be bad. It is next spread out again until about three or four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, when it is put into large circular piles, in the form of a round hay-stack, with the heads outmost, the backs upwards, and the whole is covered with circular deal frames, or with mats, tarpaulins or rinds confined by large stones, in order to preserve it from the heavy dews which fall during the heat of summer. It is left some time in that state, then again spread out, and the same day, towards evening, lodged in stores or put on board

the vessels. After the fish has been first spread on flakes four good days out of seven (considered preferable to four successive good days, because it then works, or, as the fishermen express it, *sweats* better), will be sufficient to save it from any material damage. As a single drop of rain or fresh water may so affect a fish as not only to injure it greatly, but also to communicate the infection to the whole faggot, pile, or even cargo, the state of the weather is watched with particular attention while the fishes are drying; and these, on the least appearance of a shower, are immediately turned back uppermost. As Newfoundland during the summer is subject to sudden showers, the hurry and confusion which this frequently creates throughout the whole place can hardly be described. It occasions no small annoyance if happening on a Sunday while the people are at church. The flakes are then in an instant covered with men, women, and children busily employed in turning the fishes or making them into faggots; the profits of the whole voyage, the means of paying the debts contracted, and of procuring supplies for the support of the family during winter, may all depend on the exertions of that moment.

"Such is the precarious and uncertain nature of the cod-fishery; at the same time the fatigues which attend it are very great. During the heat of the fishery the people, under the most in-

cessant hard labour, have scarcely time to eat their meals, and hardly four hours of rest in the four-and-twenty. In some parts of the coast the ledges are at so great a distance that much time is consumed in the passage from their respective harbours and back again; and even in those parts which are more favourably situated the fish does not always abound equally. It is sometimes found in the north and sometimes in the south of the island; at other times in the middle of the coast, according as it is driven by winds or attracted by the smaller fish; so that some fishermen are nearly ruined, while others, more fortunate, make excellent voyages."

Besides this cod-fishery, the produce of which, amounting to upwards of half a million quintals, is preferred in the southern markets of Europe to that of any other, there are fisheries of salmon, herrings, and seals. Of the latter about five thousand are taken annually; their skins and their oil form a considerable export, their flesh is eaten by the inhabitants.

As fishing constitutes the main object for which Newfoundland is visited or occupied, the number of persons to be found on it varies greatly at different seasons of the year. Formerly none except a few poor families passed the winter here, and the governor himself, who was simply the commodore of the squadron appointed to protect the fishing vessels, used to live on ship-board.

For a long period, however, the number of wealthy residents has been progressively increasing; a considerable quantity of capital has been vested in permanent establishments, and the villages of Newfoundland are gradually emerging from the condition of bleakness and impurity in which they once stood. St. John's, Placentia, Harbour-Grace in Conception Bay, have already the appearance of flourishing colonial towns, comfortable considering the climate and soil that surrounds them. All three are in the south-east portion of the island. St. John's is the seat of the governor, whose authority also extends over Anticosti, some smaller islands, and the adjoining coast of Labrador. It is fortified by various batteries, which, together with the peculiar security of its position, render it a place of considerable strength. The harbour, one of the finest in Newfoundland, is the general rendezvous where homeward-bound ships join convoy. It consists of a bay formed by two mountains, both very steep, the south one almost perpendicular, which bend round towards each other on the eastern side, leaving a small entrance, which is appropriately denominated *The Narrows*. Within this, which some rocks and shoals render a little dangerous, a ship (and only one can enter at a time) finds smooth and deep water, extending for about two miles inland. The town stands at the head; it is built of wood, like all other towns here,

and the houses having generally but one storey, make rather a mean figure, and, what is worse, are liable to dreadful calamities from fire. It is fast improving, however; some of the newer parts are even said to be elegant. It has a printing-press, from which a weekly newspaper issues. Placentia was long a French settlement; both it and Harbour-Grace are greatly inferior to St. John's. The remaining hamlets deserve no mention.

In their manners and character the inhabitants of Newfoundland display most of the qualities and defects commonly to be found in persons similarly situated. The wealthier order prosecute trade with diligence, and show considerable address and dexterity in transacting their affairs. Refinement or elegance of feeling is, of course, rarely met with. What would be its use, or where would be its place, among warehouses of cod-fish and train-oil? The poorer class are in great part Irish or descendants of Irish. Like other Irishmen, they are indefatigable in labour, and can endure every privation without lamenting or seeming to notice it. Like other Irishmen, too, they are often irregular and barbarous in their way of life. When a fire breaks out in any of the towns, *conflagration* is not the only evil to be dreaded. Theft is frequent, and St. Patrick's day, among other national festivals, is kept with an overflowing jollity, to which magistrates cannot look forward without appre-

hension. Some old observances, as that of the *Christmas Log*, are still generally attended to.

A little exuberance in such festivities might well be pardoned in a country where the circle of enjoyments is so narrow. The people toil throughout the summer amid moisture, and mosquitoes, and heat; in winter their log-houses defend them but imperfectly from the severities of a worse than Arctic climate, and their bread requires all to be brought from Britain or America. Except fish, of which the employment is continual, and potatoes, with a few pot-herbs, the supply of which is inadequate, Newfoundland gives no constant store of food to its inhabitants. The precarious capture of deer rarely brings venison into the market, and seal-flesh is a very imperfect substitute for beef. The only native beverage is a kind of beer prepared from the twigs of the spruce fir, it is said to be palatable. Tea, as well as fish, is used at every meal, or else a decoction of the *wisha capucoa*, or Indian tea, a native herb, which the poorer classes employ instead.

The history of Newfoundland begins with the eleventh century, when Biorn, a *sea-king*, or pirate of Iceland, was driven thither by contrary winds in the year 1001. Biorn's colony will not detain us long. If they ever did occupy the island, they had become extinct before any traces of their existence had reached the more civilized

nations of Europe, and the country required again to be discovered nearly five hundred years after. John Cabot (Giovanni Gabota), the well-known Venetian agent of Bristol, obtained a commission to make discoveries (at his own cost) from Henry VII., and during his first voyage on the 24th June 1497, came in sight of a head-land, to which, regarding it as a lucky omen, he gave the name of *Bonavista*. It was that cape of Newfoundland which is still called so. After coasting the American continent as far as Florida, Cabot returned home with various productions of the countries he had visited, and three natives of Newfoundland. "These were clothed in beasts' skins," says Fabian, "and spake such speech that no man could understand them; and in their demeanour they were like brute beasts: whom the king kept a time after; of the which about two years after I saw two apparelled after the manner of Englishmen, in Westminster Palace, which at that time I could not discern from Englishmen till I was learned what they were; but as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word." *

The *new-found* island was not long after visited successively by Cotereal the Portuguese, and

* A few scattered families of these Aborigines still exist in the interior of Newfoundland. They are cruel and suspicious beyond even the usual character of savages, having hitherto rejected every species of intercourse with the settlers, and murdered every white man whom they could lay hold of.

Cartier the French navigator. The excellence and the abundance of its cod, which had originally procured it the name of Bacalao,* soon attracted fishermen to the coasts. Vessels from England, France, Spain, Portugal, continued to frequent it during the whole of the sixteenth century, but no permanent settlement was attempted by any of those nations. The English, to whom it of right belonged to colonise the country, at length exerted themselves, though for a time without success. Sir Humphrey Gilbert —whose "Treatise on the North-west Passage," 1579, late events have again brought into notice— lost both his fortune and his life in this enterprise. A London merchant named Hoare had already tried it in 1536, and his trial had failed utterly; the ship's crew, to avoid absolute starvation, had been obliged to resort to the most horrible expedients, and even those would not have saved them had they not been lucky enough to lay hold of a French ship loaded with provisions, which enabled the emaciated survivors to return home. But Sir Humphrey was not to be deterred by their fate, or yet by the unfortunate issue of his own first trial. Sharing the projective adventurous spirit of his half-brother, the famous Sir Walter Raleigh, he determined to make a second and a greater effort, before the six years, during which Queen

* The Indian word for *cod*. *Cabaillaud*, the French name, is formed by transposing it.

Elizabeth's patent allowed him to take possession of two hundred leagues round any point he chose to settle on, were expired; and accordingly, having sold all his estates to equip five small vessels, he embarked with two hundred and sixty people in 1583. Sir Humphrey reached the bay of St. John's, and took formal possession of the place in presence of a great multitude of fishermen who had seemed at first inclined to obstruct him; he also procured some *marcasite*, which Daniel (his "experienced assayer") pronounced to be silver ore. But here all his good fortune ended. Anxious to bring the southern countries also within the compass of his patent, Sir Humphrey prepared to sail in that direction. His crews hesitated to accompany him, they mutinied, and part of them at length returned home.

The next occurrence was more lamentable still. One of the three ships which yet agreed to prosecute the voyage was wrecked shortly after the beginning of it in a gale, and above a hundred men perished with her. Disheartened by such a loss, all were decided for steering homewards, and Sir Humphrey at length consented also. He had suspended, not renounced, his schemes. "If the Almighty should permit us to reach England in safety," said he, "I will set you out royally in the course of next spring." It was not so determined. Sir Humphrey's ship was missed by her companion one morning, and never heard of more! She had gone down

over-night, and this high-minded gallant man, with all his golden hopes, was now swallowed in the deep, and calm as the dullest of his crew.

The death of Sir Humphrey was fatal to his plan, Raleigh being allured from prosecuting it by the more tempting prospects of Virginia and the El Dorado. A third attempt was made in 1610, by a company in which Lord Bacon had a share. The settlers visited Conception Bay, but few of them remained there, and the first permanent colony worthy of the name was planted by Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, in 1623. It consisted of Puritans, like the colonies of New England, and fixed itself at Ferry Low, from which it spread by degrees over all the bays in the south-eastern peninsula. Lord Baltimore gave the name *Avalon* to this tract, and so interested was he in the fate of his colonists that he sent his son for six years to reside among them. They flourished under his superintendence, and their assistance soon produced a sensible improvement in the English share of the fishery.

Towards the conclusion of that century their prosperity, and still more their quiet, was interrupted by the neighbourhood of a rival. The French had settled themselves at Placentia (Plaisance), where they had erected a fort, and the jealousy of the two nations—sharpened as it was here by the competition and the contiguity of their pursuits—broke out in continual broils, even when

the mother countries were at peace. During a time of war in Europe, the settlements never failed to take advantage of a state so conformable to their own habitual feelings, and each harassed the other by continual invasions, captures, and every species of vexation. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) put a stop to such proceedings. The bad posture of his affairs compelled Louis XIV. on that occasion to admit the prior and preferable claims of England to the whole island. The French evacuated Newfoundland finally, retaining only the permission to fish on a certain small portion of its shores, and liberty to occupy the islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon, with a garrison, or rather police of fifty men, where the fish might be dried. The final conquest of all their American colonies in the seven years' war, made the French glad to receive back this privilege at the Peace of Paris (1763); they advanced no further pretensions, and this humble one, again admitted at the conclusion of the late hostilities, now forms their sole connexion with the island. A similar right was also guaranteed to the United States.

Since the expulsion of the French, the history of Newfoundland offers nothing particularly worthy of remembrance. The colonists were favoured with a resident governor in 1728; civil and justiciary courts were instituted among them soon after, and a supreme court was added in 1792. Since the middle of last century, when England became un-

disputed ruler of the ocean, they have rarely been annoyed by the presence of a hostile fleet; their limited class of resources has continued to extend in quantity if not in variety, and at present the fisheries and trade of the island are supposed to produce an income of not less than two millions annually.

See the Rev. Lewis Amadeus Anspach's "History of Newfoundland," 1819, and Morse's "American Gazetteer."

NORFOLK.

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NORFOLK, a maritime county of England, is bounded on the north and east by the German Ocean; on the south by the rivers Waveney and Little Ouse, which divide it from Suffolk; on the west by Cambridgeshire and a small part of Lincolnshire. From the county of Lincoln it is separated by the river Nen; from that of Cambridge by the Great Ouse, except where it projects across this stream near its mouth, for a short space, and has no natural boundary. Excluding this little portion, the whole of Norfolk lying eastward of the Great Ouse would thus be almost completely surrounded with water, since the head of the Waveney, and that of the Little Ouse on the south, are only nine feet asunder, while the former of those rivers flows into the ocean on the east, the latter into the Great Ouse on the west. A narrow causeway forms the passage through the marsh which lies between their sources, near the village of Lopham.

The shape of Norfolk is not far from elliptical; the longest diameter, extending in a westerly

direction from Yarmouth to Wisbech, measures about sixty miles; its shortest diameter extending, of course, from north to south, between Wells and Billingford, measures somewhat less than forty. The superficial extent is estimated at two thousand and ninety-two square miles, or one million three hundred and thirty-eight thousand eight hundred and eighty acres. It is divided into thirty-three hundreds, and further into seven hundred and fifty-six parishes; it contains one city and twenty-nine market-towns, four of which are sea-ports. It lies in the diocese of Norwich, and sends twelve members to Parliament.

The aspect of Norfolk is very uninteresting. In general, the surface presents little artificial beauty, and almost a dead uniformity of level. Much even of the cultivated ground is destitute of ornament, and large tracts of heath, without a single tree to hide their unvaried barrenness, sandy wastes in one part, marshes in another, lazy streams, with here and there a shallow reedy lake, give a character of insipidity, or even dreariness, to many districts of the county, particularly in the south-east. The cottages and small farm-houses, too, being in many cases formed of wattle and dab, or of lath and plaster, and covered with thatch, are of a kind with the adjoining scenery, and tend to aggravate its dulness. This general description is not, however, equally or at all applicable in every quarter. About Norwich and

northward the face of the country is considerably more pleasing. Here the ground is a little broken by moderate elevations, and the prospect is further enlivened by the more frequent appearance of hedge-rows, coppices, and plantations, as well as by a greater proportion of neat brick farm-houses, and elegant mansions of a higher order.

The flat surface of Norfolk naturally terminates in a flat sea-coast. The stratum of chalk, which begins in Dorsetshire and forms so picturesque a shore all round the south of England, reaches through Norfolk also, and ends with it; but this, its northern extremity, seems attenuated or depressed, and is rarely visible. Here, instead of high rugged cliffs and deeply indented bays, we find a low unbroken beach, covered with shingles or sand, and frequently with ooze. Nearly all the inlets have been formed by rivers, and the passing sailor reckons his progress not by the appearance and disappearance of mountains and promontories, but by the succession of church spires, which, owing to the levelness of the country, he is enabled to discover at a considerable distance inland.

The rock of Hunstanton, at the north-east corner of the county, usually called *St. Edmund's Point* (from a vague tradition of King Edmund's having landed there when he came to take possession of East Anglia), is the only eminence of note on the whole coast. Westward of this, as far as

Lynn Regis, extend what are called the *Mud Cliffs;* and southward, after some inconsiderable elevations in the neighbourhood of Cromer and Sheringham, occur the *Meals* or *Marum Hills*, a series of banks formed by the sand and pebbles on the beach having been thrown into heaps by the violence of the waves, and bound together by the matted roots of various *seaweeds* (the *Arundo arenaria*, *Arenaria Peploides*, *Carex arenaria*, and others), which are found on them in great quantities. The Meals reach to Caistor, within two miles of Yarmouth; they form a kind of natural sea-dyke, which, like the artificial ones of Holland, preserves a valuable portion of the country from continual inundation. Similar banks running parallel to the coast, under water, answer a less beneficial purpose. Being discoverable only when the tide is near the lowest, and lying in several cases far off the shore, they frequently prove fatal to ships. The most remarkable is Yarmouth bank, which partly redeems its dangerous qualities by the ample security it imparts to the *Roads*, a deep channel running between it and the land, wherein a large fleet may ride safely during very tempestuous weather.

The chief rivers of Norfolk are those which contribute to form its boundary, and have already been enumerated. The *Great Ouse* rises near Brackley in Northamptonshire; after being joined by the Lark and the Cam, it changes its course

from north-east to north, receives the Little Ouse from the east, and flows between Cambridgeshire and Norfolk till within a short distance of its termination, when, having entered the latter county, and being further augmented by the Nar from the eastward, it falls into the sea about two miles below the harbour of Lynn. The length of its course is estimated at sixty miles, through twenty-four of these it is navigable for barges; boats ascend it as far as Bedford. *Lynn-deeps*, as its mouth is named, affords good anchorage for large vessels, and is much frequented by them. The Ouse flows so gently that it resembles a canal, and well nigh equals one in regard to utility for trade. By means of it, Norfolk enjoys a communication with no fewer than seven inland connties; but to counterbalance this advantage, the same peculiarity renders it extremely subject to inundation. About the equinoxes in particular, and especially at the full moon of the autumnal one, it is liable to a species of flood, which, from its impetuosity, the inhabitants are accustomed to denominate *an eager*. The tide flows up the channel with extraordinary fury, overwhelming every obstacle, and frequently causing extensive mischief; even the water-fowls shun it on such occasions.

Next in importance to the Great Ouse is the *Yare*, at the mouth of which stands the principal sea-port of the county. Like the Humber, this

stream has no particular source, but forms the trunk in which a number of subsidiary rivers unite. Of these, the chief are the *Wensum*, which rises near West Rudham, and, flowing to the eastward, passes the city of Norwich and partly environs it; the *Bure*, which rises on the north side of the county, near Hindolveston; and the *Waveney*, which rises on the south side near Lopham, and, running in a curved direction, forms the boundary of Suffolk through its whole course. At the same Lopham, as we have already observed, rises also the *Little Ouse*, which, proceeding to the opposite quarter, completes the northern boundary of Suffolk. It joins the Great Ouse at Littleport, among fens on the borders of Cambridgeshire, being navigable as far as Thetford, where it receives the Thet.

Like the Great Ouse, these other rivers, rising among swamps and flowing through a level country, proceed at a very slow rate, and contribute to keep the adjacent lands in a wet state and to infect the atmosphere with vapours. In some instances, their progress being obstructed by the accumulation of mud and rubbish in their channels, they have spread themselves over their banks and formed in their passage various sheets of shallow and almost stagnant water, which in the provincial dialect are termed *broads* and *meres*. These meres occur chiefly in the district from which the Yare is fed. *Breedon Broad*, the largest of them, measuring three

miles in length by one in breadth, lies at the junction of the Waveney and Wensum, where the Yare is said to begin. One or two of nearly equal dimensions, and several of smaller, occur in the same neighbourhood; a few in other parts of the county. They are plentifully supplied with fish and aquatic birds. In the fenny districts also many temporary lakes are formed during winter, and resorted to by multitudes of wild fowls, for catching which, it is usual to erect decoys all around.

The general structure of Norfolk is well suited for the formation of canals; but the number of its deep and smooth rivers in a great measure supersedes their utility. Except a short cut from Wisbech to the Nen, intersecting a small part of the county, and another from Eau Brink to Lynn, the improvements on inland navigation have been limited in Norfolk to widening and cleaning the natural channels, and in a few instances constructing sluices on them. Private estates in the vicinity of such a stream are often furnished with a little canal, by which they communicate with it, for transporting their corn and bringing back their manure.

In regard to the nature of its soil, this county exhibits considerable variety. The predominant ingredients are sand and clay, intermixed in different proportions — at one time forming a compound so light and arid, that it even drifts

in the wind, and is almost bare of vegetation; at another, a stiff tenacious kind of land, distinguished for the number and copiousness of its springs. The former characteristic prevails in the southern and western districts of the county, the latter (much less extensively) in the interior to the east and south-east of Norwich. North and north-east of that city, for several miles the finest combination is met with; it is a sandy loam, resembling that of Belgium, and equal in value to the most fertile parts of it. In some quarters of the coast, as at Marshland, near the Wash, and about the mouths of the Waveney and Yare, the ground is formed of ooze by deposition from the sea; unless secured by embankments, as is the case in Marshland, it is generally overflowed during the wet months, and requires to be drained in spring before it can be used as pasture, for which it is then peculiarly adapted. In the south-west extremity of the county there is, moreover, a portion of that immense fenny tract which extends into all the neighbouring counties. It had long been partially drained, and the well-known *Bedford Level* at length completed its improvement.

The following table of the Norfolk soils, by Mr. Arthur Young, professes to show the different species, with their respective extents. Though evidently imperfect, and in some respects erroneous, it is worth subjoining.

	Square Miles.	*Acres.*
Light sand	220	148,800
Good sand	420	268,800
Marshland clay ...	60	38,400
Various loams	900	576,000
Rich loam	148	94,720
Peat	82	52,480

There are no minerals of importance in Norfolk; no metallic ores, no coals have been discovered; indeed, the geological structure of the ground nearly precludes the hope of finding any. The layer of *clunch* or indurated chalk, which occurs everywhere beneath the surface, appears to cover all the more productive beds of rock, and even to render it uncertain whether they exist here. The clunch itself is burnt for lime, or used in the natural state as a building stone. A more durable substance, used also for the latter purpose, is the black flint, which is found in masses, imbedded in a softer stratum of chalk that lies above the clunch. Many houses in Norwich are formed of this material; it is brought from Mousehold Heath, where it is dug out of pits. Brick is much more extensively employed, and clay of excellent quality, for making it, abounds in various quarters. There occurs likewise some clay well fitted for earthenware.

The climate is reckoned considerably below the general average of England; being exposed both on the north and east, the county experiences the full rigour of the winds which blow from those

points, and which are observed to be extremely prevalent here. It is this circumstance, more than any other, which gives to vegetation so languid and backward a character during the early seasons of the year. The moisture with which the air is frequently loaded contributes to the same effect, and is still more pernicious to animal health. In the fenny districts intermittent fevers are so general as in some sort to be endemic. When a stranger is seized with an ague, the people talk of him as being *arrested by the bailiff of Marsh-land.* The neighbourhood of the sea or of swampy land is the cause of this dampness, and in the interior of the county, where both conditions are wanting, the coast being distant and the soil sandy, the air is dry and perfectly salubrious.

With so few apparent advantages as we have described it to possess, Norfolk might naturally be expected to owe its share of distinction to other causes than its agriculture. But the fact is not so. The ingenuity of the husbandman has here been exerted with remarkable success in struggling against the obstacles of Nature, or giving free scope to her productive powers. Since the middle of last century, improvement has rapidly proceeded, and more corn was at one time raised within this county than on any equal space elsewhere. A hundred years ago half the county consisted of rabbit-warrens or sheep-walks,

and in 1793 it was computed that above a million's worth of grain went out of it annually. Since that period Norfolk has participated in the stimulus given to agriculture generally over the kingdom, and though no longer supreme, it still ranks among the highest in the scale of productiveness. Enterprising proprietors have encouraged farmers of large capital to enclose the waste lands, to bring the marshes and fens under the dominion of the plough, and those unpromising tracts have been found to repay the labour bestowed on them with the most exuberant crops. By a skilful system of husbandry, enriched with native and foreign inventions, and quickened in its action by various accidental circumstances, Norfolk, naturally unfertile, in part even noxious, has been made to rival in agricultural wealth the vales of Taunton and Evesham.

Farms in Norfolk are usually large, sometimes the rent exceeds four thousand pounds. Hence, in some degree, arises the superior adventurousness and the extreme assiduity with which its husbandry is conducted. One characteristic which strikes the agricultural traveller here in particular is the high state of pulverization to which the soil is reduced, and the care with which it is kept free of weeds. For this purpose repeated ploughings are employed, and afterwards the operation of wheeled drags and harrows, which are drawn by horses kept at a trotting pace. Another

characteristic, but no longer confined to Norfolk, is the unbroken succession of crops, or at least the total disuse of fallowing. The methods of dispensing with this awkward practice have now become common, though Norfolk was once solitary in the use of them. Among the green crops applied to this object, the turnip crop, one of the most valuable, was primarily introduced here. It came from Hanover. Viscount Townshend, when attending George I. in his electoral dominions, was struck with the utility of this vegetable, and brought some seeds of it with him into his estate in Norfolk, from whence it subsequently spread into all corners of the island. The other green crops are potatoes, carrots, beans, peas, vetches, buck-wheat, cole-seed, and every sort of artificial grass. Of the white crops, wheat is rather extensively sown; stiff loamy soils will sometimes yield ten quarters of it to the acre; oats are raised more sparingly, only as a shifting crop, and none of the produce is exported. But the great article is barley. It usually occupies one-third of all the arable land in the county, and above one half of it is sown on ground previously cleaned by turnips. The produce of an acre will sometimes rise to eight quarters. It is converted into malt, and exported in that state. Both the wheat and the barley are commonly sown in drills, an operation which is effected by the aid of several ingenious machines; sometimes they are

planted by a dibble with the hand. The usual mode of arranging their succession is by what is called a six-course shift. The first year wheat is sown; the second, barley, with or without clover; the third, turnips; the fourth, barley or oats, with clover; the fifth, this clover is mown for hay; and during the sixth the ground is depastured, and ploughed up for wheat as in the beginning. According to this system, the average rate of increase for the whole county is three quarters of wheat per acre, and four of barley, though in the best soils, as we have already stated, it is greatly higher. Besides these principal crops, there are several which are raised occasionally, or in particular situations. Mustard and saffron are sometimes met with towards the borders of Cambridgeshire, and flax and hemp are cultivated to a small extent in the south.

Among agricultural implements of a peculiar form, the drill-roller of this county must not pass without notice. It is a large cast-iron cylinder, with projecting rings round it, at the distance of about ten inches from each other. Being rolled over the ploughed land, this instrument, by means of its rings, leaves ruts behind it, into which the seed, though merely scattered by the hand, naturally gathers itself, at least during the succeeding operations, and is thus simply and effectually deposited in regular rows. The *wissard* of Norfolk is a temporary waggon, sometimes used in

a busy period of harvest. It is formed by placing an additional pair of wheels under the shafts of a common cart, the body of which is at the same time elongated by two ladders or racks being fixed to the sides of it, and a third laid horizontally between them, for completing the bottom. Thrashing machines are universal; sometimes they are driven by steam. Moveable fences, now in general use over the kingdom, are said to have been first employed in this county. They prove serviceable when it is required to consume a field of turnips or pasture in successive parts.

Grazing is a secondary object, but still considerably attended to. The native sheep is a hardy animal, with horns and black feet. Its fleece weighs nearly two pounds, and the carcase, when fattened, about eighteen per quarter. It is considered as well suited to the soil and husbandry of the county, being accustomed to feed close and endure penning. The wool was formerly classed in the third rank among native breeds, but lately it has been discovered that the neck part is equal to that of the Spanish sheep.

The Norfolk cow, a little animal of a brown colour, with short up-curved horns, is now seldom reared. It has in a great measure given place to the Suffolk breed, a polled dun-coloured species, less calculated for barren pastures and hard weather, but yielding a larger quantity of milk. In some of the fenny districts peculiarly liable to inundation,

the management of these animals constitutes the main business, and large quantities of butter, procured from them, are exported under the name of Cambridge butter. In general, however, the grazier's aim is to prepare the cattle themselves, not their produce, for the market. At the fair of St. Faith's (a small village near Norwich), which is held about Michaelmas, the Norfolk graziers are accustomed to purchase large droves of Highland oxen — *Scotch runts*, as they are named—which, when admitted to the rich pastures in the east of the county, soon lose the rugged meagre appearance they presented originally, and form a considerable item in the supply of the London market. Above twenty thousand bullocks are annually taken to Smithfield, nearly three-fourths of which have come from Scotland and been fattened in Norfolk; a few are Irish, the rest native.

Among animals which form an article of trade in this county, rabbits must not be omitted. The progress of agricultural improvement has now greatly narrowed their domain, but they still burrow in the sandy wastes, and multiply, with their characteristic fecundity, to such a degree that in some parts their increase at times threatens to be dangerous. Methwold Heath is their most noted abode; it is mentioned for this peculiarity so early as the time of Canute, in the year 1016. Sometimes they have themselves become an object of farming speculation. By an

act of enclosure which passed in 1780, the heaths of Salthouse and Kelly were reserved for a warren; the ground was ploughed, manured, and sown with the various sorts of grass best suited for the use of those animals.

Poultry of all kinds abounds in Norfolk. It is distinguished in particular for its turkeys. The dry sandy districts of the interior, often free from enclosures, afford a favourable situation for those birds, and the mode of feeding is thought to give their flesh a superior delicacy of flavour. It has been reckoned that more turkeys are reared in Norfolk and Suffolk than in all the rest of Britain. They are taken to London and other distant markets, being commonly driven on foot in large flocks. From the fens and meres, which last are often rented for this purpose, there is also an abundant supply of geese. Great numbers of them are brought annually to London. They travel on foot like the turkeys, and take their departure about the beginning of August, when, the grain being generally housed, they may glean a subsistence over-night among the stubbles. The last droves pass before the rainy season sets in, about the beginning of October.

All the common sorts of game are found here, and in considerable abundance, the laws for its preservation being administered with extreme severity. Pheasants are so common that they are often flushed on the stubble-ground like partridges.

A more remarkable species is the *Strix Orta* or *great bustard*. It is the largest of British birds, weighing about twenty-five pounds, and measuring nine feet between the tips of its wings. Except in the remote wolds of Norfolk or Yorkshire, on the Salisbury Plain, or on the downs of Dorsetshire, it is now rarely to be seen.

The rivers of Norfolk furnish a copious supply of fish of different kinds. Perches are in such abundance that one hundred and twenty barrels are said to have sometimes been caught by means of two nets in a single day. The *ruffe* is a species of perch peculiar to the Yare. On the sea coast the supply is not less varied or abundant. Shell fish is taken in several parts; but the most noted fisheries are of mackerel and herrings. To the latter, Yarmouth owes its existence as a town, and the same cause has continued to procure it distinction since the period of the Conquest. In a successful year it has been known to export seventy thousand barrels, exclusive of the home consumption, which probably amounted to fifteen thousand more. The trade is carried on under special regulations, and above two thousand fishermen from this port are employed in it. The herrings are cured by being salted repeatedly, and then smoked in houses contrived for the purpose.

From its geographical position, Norfolk enjoys a ready communication with several counties in the

interior, and naturally forms the medium for exporting much of their superfluous home produce, and supplying them with foreign goods. Its harbours provide the inland counties with coals, wine, timber, groceries, and receive in return large quantities of cheese, corn, and malt. Yarmouth and Lynn, its chief ports, particularly the former, which has in later times become a station for the navy, have engaged to a considerable extent in the foreign as well as coasting trade. Their ships take a share in the Greenland fisheries, and visit the Baltic and the south of Europe. Wells, Cromer, Blackney, Burnham, and Clay, though partially concerned in the corn trade, may rather be regarded as fishing towns. The entrance and the neighbourhood of all these harbours are beset with danger, and the habit of surmounting it renders the seamen of this coast among the hardiest and most expert in England.

Norfolk was distinguished as a manufacturing county long before it was known as an agricultural one. It is seven hundred years since Worstead became noted for the woollen stuffs which still bear its name, though the place itself has now decayed to an inconsiderable hamlet, and the trade is removed. The surrounding district has continued to work principally from similar materials, converting its wool, with various intermixtures of silk and mohair, into serges, crapes, shalloons, damasks, bombazines, shawls, and

every sort of fancy goods. In this trade the capital city has long taken the lead, and the introduction of machinery has of late tended still further to collect the workmen within a closer neighbourhood. The manufactures of Norfolk are now almost synonymous with those of Norwich and its vicinity.

At the period of the Roman invasion Norfolk constituted part of the territory of the Iceni. After being conquered, it was secured by five military posts, remains of which are still discoverable. Caistor, near Yarmouth, is thought to have been the *Venta Icenorum*, the principal of them. Fragments of a Roman road passing from this place to join the *Julia Strata* in the interior of England, have been found buried in the fens where it entered Cambridgeshire. The *Pedder's Way*, from Thetford to the sea, near Brancaster, appears to have been one of several *Chimini Minores*. The *Count of the Saxon Shore*, to whom this district was entrusted, preserved it from invasion so long as the Romans continued in the island. After their departure it was seized by Uffa in the year 575, and, with Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, formed into the kingdom of East Anglia. Shortly after this, in imitation of their prince, Uffa's grandson, the people embraced Christianity, and appear to have subsequently become remarkable for the zeal with which they practised it.

Traces of ecclesiastical influence are still discernible in the numerous ruins of monasteries, no fewer than eleven hundred and forty-eight of which establishments were seized in Norfolk by Henry VIII. when he disowned the Pope's supremacy in 1535. Among these, the chapel of Our Lady at Walsingham, founded in the eleventh century, became a shrine surpassing in reputation the grave of Thomas-a-Becket, and little inferior to Compostella or Loretto. The *Peregrinatio* of Erasmus has conveyed a lively picture of its expiring superstitions to scholars of all countries. The monks had two *wishing wells*, and the galaxy itself was thought to be nothing more than a beacon to point out the way to the thousands of pilgrims who worshipped in this temple.

Norfolk participated deeply in the calamities of the Danish invasions, which so darkly distinguish the early history of England. It was to this district in particular that their first attack was directed, and the sons of Lothbric are said to have landed at Runham, now a small village separated by the river from Yarmouth. This happened in the year 870, and till the accession of Edward the Confessor, in 1041, Norfolk was frequently a scene of their outrages, at one time of their dominion, and at length of their final expulsion. After the Conquest it enjoyed more peace, at least externally, though the power and

turbulence of its earls, the Bigods, more than once disturbed it by intestine commotions. Roger Bigod was a distinguished opponent of King John; that weak and worthless monarch laid waste his possessions, and passed through Lynn a day or two before he concluded his violent and feeble reign at the Castle of Newark. Wat Tyler's insurrection during the minority of Richard II. extended into Norfolk; another occurred in Edward VI.'s time under two brothers of the name of Ket. The *Oak of Reformation*—beneath the shadow of which, Robert, the elder of them, published his edicts, and inveighed against the system of inclosing and appropriating the abbey-lands—stood on Mousehold Heath, not far from Norwich.

In the last civil disturbance of England, the Parliament Wars, this county took part against Charles. It formed an association with the counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Hertford, and Essex, and the whole were placed under the Earl of Manchester's command. The royal troops once seized upon Lynn, but never gained any lasting footing within the county, which quietly acknowledged the sway of Cromwell, and afterwards as quietly passed under that of Charles II.

Since those agitated times, Norfolk has shared in the general tranquillity of the kingdom, and increased in prosperity conformably with the rest of it. The connection of the Court with Hainaut

had introduced Flemish weavers into Norfolk before the twelfth century, and the country is still reaping the fruit of their instructions. Agricultural improvements commenced at a far later period, but their progress has been proportionally more rapid. Norfolk is now in all respects one of the most flourishing and valuable districts in Britain.

According to the several enumerations made by order of Government, the population stood as follows: In 1801 there were forty-nine thousand one hundred and forty houses, and two hundred and seventy-three thousand four hundred and seventy-one inhabitants, of whom one hundred and twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and forty-two were males, and one hundred and forty-three thousand five hundred and twenty-nine females; sixty-one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one being employed in agriculture; thirty-eight thousand one hundred and eighty-one in trade and manufactures. In 1811 the resident population had risen to two hundred and ninety-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine, or one hundred and forty to the square mile; one hundred and forty-five thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine being the number employed in agriculture, and thirty-four pounds the average net product, or the rent and tithes paid by each family.

As to the poor of this county, it appears from the reports laid before Parliament, that in 1803

the number of persons receiving parish aid was forty-two thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, or sixteen in every hundred of the resident population. The expense so incurred was one hundred and seventy-five thousand three hundred and sixty-one pounds eight shillings and three-pence, including six thousand and thirty-one pounds seventeen shillings and ninepence three farthings consumed in lawsuits, removals of paupers, and charges of overseers, including also one thousand four hundred and fifty-nine pounds eighteen shlllings and sevenpence half-penny consumed in purchasing materials for employing the poor, and omitting a calculated sum of four hundred and three pounds ten shillings given to vagrants and other non-parishioners. The money levied was at the rate of fourteen shillings and eleven pence half-penny per head on the population, the money expended immediately on account of the poor was at the rate of twelve shillings and tenpence half-penny per head on the population. Of the whole forty-two thousand seven hundred and eighty-two there were three thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight maintained in workhouses at an expense of eleven pounds five shillings and one penny annually for each, and thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-six relieved, not in workhouses, at an expense of three pounds four shillings and three half-pence for each. The number of persons

belonging to friendly societies was about five in one hundred of the inhabitants.

See "Beauties of England and Wales," vol. xi.; "Kent's View of the Agriculture of Norfolk," and "Young's Farmer's Tour in the East of England."

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

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NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, one of the interior counties of England, is bounded on the north by Leicestershire, Rutland, and a small part of Lincolnshire; on the east by the shires of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Buckingham; on the south, by that of Oxford; on the west, by those of Oxford and Warwick. Its figure is elongated and irregular, and no county in the kingdom borders on so many others. The greatest length is from Aynho in the south-west to Crowland in the north-east, and measures about sixty-six miles; the breadth varies from thirty to eight. The circumference is estimated at two hundred and sixteen miles, and the area at one thousand and seventeen square miles, or six hundred and fifty thousand eight hundred and eighty acres. It is divided into twenty hundreds, and these again into three hundred and thirty-six parishes; it contains one city and eleven market towns; lies in the diocese of Peterborough, and sends nine members to Parliament.

The surface is pleasing and variegated, broken

into hills and dales, watered by numerous brooks and rivers, and generally covered with rich verdure. The numerous mansions and pleasure-grounds of the wealthier class add to its beauty. "The fertilitie," Norden observes, "salutarie ayre, pleasant prospects, and conveniencie of this shire, in all things to a generous and noble mynde, have so allured nobilitie to plant themselves within the same, that no shire within this realme can answer the like number of noblemen as are seated in these parts. Of gentry it is so full, that it may be called the *Herald's Garden*." Most part of the county was at a former period covered with wood, and considerable tracts of forest land still give a picturesque appearance to the eastern and the southern quarters. There are likewise some fens, but of no great extent.

Northamptonshire lies nearly at an equal distance from the eastern and the western border of England, and though far from mountainous, it forms the most elevated portion of the great plain which comprehends all the south-eastern divisions of the kingdom. Its height above the neighbouring districts is demonstrated by the curious fact that, while no portion of itself receives a drop of water from any other county, it sends forth streams towards every point of the compass, to the German Ocean, to the Irish Sea, and the River Thames. The Great Ouse rises at Ousewell, near Brackley, in the parish of Farthinghoe, and, soon entering

Buckinghamshire again, touches its parent county at Old Stratford, from whence it pursues its long and devious course through Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and Norfolk, to Lynn-Regis. The Avon rises at Avonwell, near Naseby, flows westward into Warwickshire, and being joined by the Leam, which rises at the village of Hellidown, also in Northamptonshire, ultimately mixes with the Severn in Worcestershire. From the vicinity of Naseby there likewise springs another river, which, being augmented at Northampton by a western branch, assumes the name of Nen or Nyne. After draining the greater part of the county, it falls into the Wash between Lincolnshire and Norfolk. It approaches the Welland, which falls into the Fossdyke Wash, after a long course from Sibbertoft in the west. The Charwell, a smaller stream, proceeds from Charwelton, passes Banbury, and joins the Thames at Oxford.

The Avon and the Ouse when they issue from the county are but rivulets; the Nen and the Welland continue in it till they become navigable rivers. By the aid of some improvements completed in 1762, the Nen can be ascended as far as Northampton. It is little frequented except by coal barges. The internal communication is further promoted by the Oxford and Grand Junction Canals, which cross each other at Braunston on the western edge of the county, and both continue in it for a number of miles.

From Blisworth, on the latter, a railway extends to Northampton.

In regard to climate, this county differs in no important respect from the generality of English inland counties, and is equally agreeable and healthful with any of them. The soil appears to be of a stiff loamy nature, in some places it is cold and wet, but for most part fertile, the average rent and tithes of a square mile being seven hundred and nine pounds, though large spaces are covered with wood or subject to the right of common pasturage, and thereby rendered comparatively useless. Peterborough Fen, which is in the latter case, contains between six and seven thousand acres; the soil is said to be of a very high quality, but yields little, the right of keeping cattle on it—which is divided among thirty-two parishes, conjointly denominated the Soke of Peterborough—being scarcely deemed of any value by each individual.

In a state almost equally unproductive are the forests. They afford little else than a limited quantity of brushwood and a range for the deer of the proprietors, and for the cattle of some adjoining parishes, which enjoy such a right over them. The forest of Rockingham in the north of the county is the largest. It formerly extended between Northampton and Stamford, measuring about thirty miles in length by eight in breadth. But various concessions of the Crown

in remote times have greatly restricted its bounds, and it does not now contain more than ten thousand acres, scattered in successive portions over the district which it once completely filled. The property, with the timber, large and small, is at present vested in various persons, a right of pasturage under certain restrictions is reserved to the contiguous lands, and the claims of Government are limited to the annual demand of a few braces of deer for the use of His Majesty's household. The wardens and other chief officers are hereditary. Salcey and Whittlewood forests lie in the south of the county, the latter partly in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. Salcey comprehends eighteen thousand four hundred and forty-seven acres; Whittlewood, five thousand four hundred and twenty-four. In 1608 the first contained fifteen thousand two hundred and seventy-four trees fit for the use of the navy; the second, fifty-one thousand and forty-six; but owing to neglect or misconduct on the part of the overseers, those numbers had in 1738 dwindled to two thousand nine hundred and eighteen, and five thousand two hundred and eleven. Salcey appears to be particularly fitted for the growth of timber. One oak in it is seventeen feet in circumference, yet under the present management it scarcely yields a full-grown tree on the acre.

Charles II. granted all the most valuable per-

quisites of those forests to his son, the Duke of Grafton, with whose representative they still continue; the Crown retains only the large timber (which does not seem to bring in anything in the shape of profit), and receives annually a few bucks and does out of the three thousand which find subsistence there. The administration of the whole is committed to several officers, invested with various degrees of authority. The principal ones are hereditary; those appointed to take cognizance of trespasses on forest property, the *Verderers* as they are called, continue to be nominated by the freeholders, but do not now hold any courts. Under the superintendence of those administrators, the forests were long ago divided into ninety-three separate coppices, intervening spaces of little extent being left vacant and appropriated to the use of the keepers and their cattle. The small timber of each coppice is cut down every twenty-one years, during the first seven of which the deer are excluded by fences; the cattle during the first nine. All of them are, as usual, subject to rights of pasturage.

Exclusive of these half waste portions, Northamptonshire is generally in a state of respectable culture. It is distributed into rather large properties, but the farms are comparatively small; they vary from one hundred to five hundred pounds of rent. About half of the county is employed in grazing, and cattle, either native or

imported, fattened for the London market, are the principal article of its produce. Wool is also provided for the internal consumption, and the dairy is an object of considerable attention—on some farms the sole object. The mode of husbandry, the animals and implements by which it is carried on, present nothing remarkable.

The limited manufactures of this county are principally concentrated about its capital, but elsewhere there exist a few factories for the production of lace, woollen goods, and leather. Towcester is the chief seat of the first, Kettering of the second. Shoes are exported from various places; and saddlery articles, particularly whips, are prepared to a considerable extent at Daventry. There are likewise a few potteries of ancient date but diminutive importance.

Northamptonshire, with the adjacent regions, was originally inhabited by the tribe named Coritani. The Romans have left permanent and numerous traces of their establishment here. The uneven nature of the country adapted it well for defence, and its central position rendered the possession of it important. Remains of encampments and stations are accordingly to be found in all quarters, especially the western side, sometimes appearing to have been originally Roman, sometimes only improvements on British fortification. Two principal military roads—the Watling Street and Ermine Street—also passed through this county

The former enters from the south near Stratford, and proceeds along the contiguous border of Warwickshire for several miles. The Ermine Street, or *forty-foot way*, comes eastward out of Huntingdonshire, near Castor, where it crossed the Nen. Pieces of it are still lofty and conspicuous between Upton and the village just mentioned, and again in the parish of Barnack. Interjacent are numerous cross *streets*, and no fewer than twenty-seven places are enumerated which indubitably appear to have been in the hands of the Romans. In Saxon times this county formed part of Mercia. It was then that the rich monasteries of Medenhamsted or Peterborough, and of Crowland, were founded. The former was at one time looked upon as the richest in Mercia, the city where it stood being denominated the *Aurea Civitas*. It was repeatedly plundered by the Danes, who are said to have kept possession of Northampton during thirty-nine years.

After the Conquest this county was subdivided among nineteen of William's followers, a large portion of it being assigned as a dower to Judith, his niece, married to Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland. Since that period nothing distinguishes its history except the multitude of political and religious disputes, of which its capital was the scene. From the time of William I. to that of Edward II., numerous councils and

parliaments were held in this town. King John on one occasion removed his exchequer from London thither. In later times the county still frequently enjoyed the Sovereign's presence. Grafton, Colleweston, and Fotheringay were royal seats in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The last is universally known for its connection with the fate of Mary Queen of Scots. James, her son, caused it to be demolished; its site is yet to be discerned in the north-eastern angle of the county, beside the river Nen.

In the civil wars Northampton was fortified by the parliamentary army, and Naseby became memorable as the spot in which, according to Clarendon's remark, both Charles and his kingdom were lost. This battle was fought on the 14th of June 1645; the field lies close to the village, and bears its name. The last historical fact connected with this county, which seems worthy of mention, is the shocking one that five wretched females were tried at the Northampton assizes and executed for witchcraft so lately as the year 1712; two more had been murdered in a similar manner in 1705. Particular accounts of their examination, confession, and death, still exist in several pamphlets published immediately after.

According to the various enumerations made by order of Government, the population of this county stood as follows: In 1801 there were twenty-seven thousand four hundred and one houses, and

ninety thousand eight hundred and eighteen inhabitants, of whom sixty-three thousand four hundred and seventeen were males, sixty-eight thousand three hundred and forty females; twenty-nine thousand three hundred and three being the number employed in agriculture, and thirty-one thousand four hundred and twenty-six in trade. In 1811 the resident population had arisen to one hundred and forty-one thousand three hundred and fifty-three, or one hundred and thirty-nine to the square mile; seventy thousand two hundred and sixty-two being the number employed in agriculture, and forty-seven pounds the average net product or rent and tithes of a family.

With regard to the poor, it appears that in 1803 the number of persons receiving parish aid, was twenty thousand five hundred and thirty-four, or sixteen in the hundred of the resident population; the expense so incurred was ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-four pounds, eighteen shillings and twopence farthing, including three thousand two hundred and eighty-seven pounds and three half-pence, consumed in law-suits, removal of paupers, and charges of overseers; and omitting a probable sum of one hundred and fifty-eight pounds two shillings, given to vagrants and other non-parishioners. The money levied was at the rate of eighteen shillings and threepence farthing per head on the population; the money expended immediately on account of

the poor was at the rate of fourteen shillings and tenpence halfpenny. Of the total twenty thousand five hundred and thirty-four, there are one thousand three hundred and thirteen maintained in workhouses, at an expense of twelve thousand eight hundred and eleven pounds nineteen shillings and eightpence halfpenny; and nineteen thousand two hundred and twenty-one relieved, not in workhouses, at an expense of eighty-one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight pounds eighteen shillings and fourpence halfpenny. The former, therefore, cost nine pounds each annually; the latter, four pounds four shillings and elevenpence halfpenny.

See "Beauties of England and Wales," vol. xii.; and Pitt's "View of the Agriculture of Northamptonshire."

NORTHUMBERLAND.

NORTHUMBERLAND, the most northerly county of England, is bounded on the south by Durham, on the west by Cumberland, on the north by the Scottish counties of Roxburgh and Berwick, on the east by the German Ocean. In shape it approaches to rhomboidal; the longest diagonal, from south-west to north-east, measures seventy-four miles, the shortest forty-five; the area amounts to one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one square miles, or one million one hundred and ninety-seven thousand four hundred and forty acres. With regard to civil jurisdiction, it is divided into six wards, and six hundred and thirty-five constableries; with regard to ecclesiastical, into five deaneries and seventy-three parishes. It stands in the diocese of Durham, contains twelve market towns, and sends six members to Parliament.

The face of the country is rugged and hilly, and the character of its scenery varies by many gradations, from the extreme of wasteness to occasional beauty. On the northern side it is

skirted by the Cheviots, and the mountains of Cumberland are connected with it on the west. From these wild and elevated ranges, numerous secondary branches traverse the interior in various directions, in some places spreading out into moory tracts of extreme desolateness, in others exhibiting a rich and well-cultivated expanse, rendered more striking by its undulating and varied aspect. Along the summits of the mountains, which contain the numerous sources of its rivers, little else is to be seen than broad heaths, or cold and deep morasses; but as the streams grow broader, the sides of the hills gradually assume a greener hue, affording at first a more abundant pasturage for flocks, and at last separating into broad valleys, which often display all the luxuriance of vegetation.

In so great a diversity of position, we of course find a corresponding diversity of soil. On the highest elevations it is cold, spongy, and irrecoverably barren; but the slopes of the mountains, particularly of the Cheviots, are of a firm consistency, and fertile considering their situation. They are generally clothed with grass, and appear to have at one time been ploughed to a much greater height than at present. The finest districts are in the south and along the coast from Bamborough to within some miles of the Tyne. The level tract around Belford, the uneven one in the neighbourhood of Wark, and the vale of

Hexham, are distinguished for their beauty and productiveness. The harvests in this last quarter are the earliest, and its fields and woods have the richest verdure of any in Northumberland.

As the general exposure of this county is to the east, its climate is rather hard than otherwise. Cold, withering east winds prevail during the months of March, April, and frequently the greater part of May. When the western breezes set in, the progress of vegetation is rapid. It is not uncommon to see the trees in the beginning of May as arid and leafless as in December, and yet, through the influence of mild westerly winds and kind rains, becoming quite clothed with foliage in the course of eight or ten days. When these westerly breezes increase into a hurricane, it is a sure indication that a deluge of rain is falling at the time in the western counties of England and Scotland. The autumn of the year is the summer of Northumberland. During the months of September and October it is usually fine settled weather; but winter commences by the middle of November, and reigns with great severity, till the frost and snow are succeeded by a languid spring in the latter end of March.

Of the Northumberland rivers, the Tyne is the most important. Its name in Celtic is said to signify *double;* and accordingly it springs from two sources, the South Tyne from behind Cross Fell in Westmoreland, and the North Tyne from the

borders of Scotland. The two streams unite beside Nether Warden, after which the river takes an easterly direction, and, being joined by the Dill and the Derwent, empties itself into the sea between this county and Durham. The Till, the Aln, and the Coquet, much smaller streams, rise among the Cheviot Hills. The two last flow directly into the German Ocean; the first mixes with the Tweed, which, during a considerable portion of its course, separates Northumberland from Berwickshire. Most of these rivers, by means of the tide and their natural depth, are navigable several miles above their mouths. Ships of large burden can ascend the Tyne to Newcastle, where its waters are deepened twelve feet every spring-tide. A few artificial helps might render the passage practicable much further. In 1790 it was proposed to make the river navigable from Newburn to Hexham; but the corporation of Newcastle opposed the measure, and it was finally dropped. A similar fate has from various causes attended more than one succeeding project, and Northumberland is yet without any facilities for internal communication, except what are afforded by nature.

The sea-coast is generally steep, in some parts terminating in lofty cliffs of whinstone. Compared with the coasts further to the south, it is reckoned safe and commodious. Adjacent to it are several islands, the principal of which are Coquet and

Holy Island. Coquet lies opposite the mouth of the river so called, at the distance of about a mile. It was much frequented by monks in former times, and had a fortress on it, the ruins of which are now partly converted into a lighthouse. It abounds with rabbits, and contains seven acres of good pasture. Holy Island was once the seat of a monastery, which gloried in having been the residence of St. Cuthbert. It lies about two miles off the mainland, from which it is accessible to carts at low water. It is nearly over against the mouth of the Lindis, a brook from connection with which it was of old called Lindisfarne, the *recess* or retirement of the Lindis. The circuit of it measures nine miles, and includes one thousand and twenty acres, about half of which is sand, and stocked with rabbits. The remaining part, consisting of good soil, is now enclosed and cultivated. On the west side are a small fishing town, and a castle garrisoned by a few soldiers from Berwick. In 1715 one Launcelot Errington seized it for a short time in the name of the Pretender.

The fisheries on these islands and along the coast are limited in extent, and by no means productive. The rivers are more valuable in this respect. They yield excellent sport to the angler, and abound in salmon, which are caught in large quantities. In the Tyne within half a century two hundred and seventy-five salmon have been taken at a single draught. Owing to some works at Bywell,

which obstruct their ascent, these fishes have now abandoned the Tyne, but the Tweed still affords above eight thousand hundredweight of them annually, for which there is paid in rents nearly sixteen thousand pounds. The inferior streams afford a considerable supply also, and literally swarm with trout.

But the grand source of wealth to Northumberland is the produce of its mines. Lead ore is found in great abundance on the western side of the county. The mines of Allenhead have been worked from time immemorial, and are still highly productive. The ore is found intermixed with calcareous or fluor spar, and the sides of the vein are often richly decorated with pyrites and yellow ores of copper. The whole mines of this district annually give about twelve thousand bings, or nearly five thousand tons of ore. It is smelted and refined at Dukesfield, and produces about seven or eight ounces of silver from each fother of lead. Mines of lead are also worked in the vicinities of Corbridge and of Bamborough, some others formerly existed at Stonecroft and in Rothbury forest. The lead veins usually contain ores of zinc in great abundance, and large quantities of iron-stone are enclosed in the strata of indurated clay throughout all the coal districts.

The iron-stone found here is not now prepared to any extent within the county; but the accompanying mineral, the pit coal, has long formed

the staple commodity of Northumberland. This valuable substance occurs in immense beds, dispersed under a surface of about three hundred square miles, the principal part of which lies within a triangle, having Tynemouth, Bywell, and Alnmouth at its corners. This tract, so far as it has been pierced into, is found to consist of various kinds of siliceous stone, schistus, and coal. Beds of schistus usually lie both above and beneath the coal-seams, and are often thickly impressed with vegetable forms, such as ferns, vetches, and grasses; in some cases ears of barley and leaves of pine-apples have been noticed. In these beds are also found layers of iron-stones, sometimes in nodules, more frequently in rhomboids, having the corners rounded off. Sometimes large trees are found, extending out of the clay into the stone strata. At Kenton are some seats of stone, hewn from one of those remarkable fossils, that show the yearly rings of the tree and the roughness of its bark. Sometimes the wood is half carbonated, like the *surturbrand* of Iceland.

In this, as in every coal district, the stratification which attends the fossil always terminates, and is ill-defined and disordered when it approaches any mountain of porphyry or granite. The strata generally dip towards the east, and each stratum usually retains its parallelism, with regard to those immediately above and below it, through all the

confusion of those perpendicular rents and chasms, which in mining language are termed *dikes*, *slips*, *hitches*, and *troubles*. Some of those chasms are filled up with substances swept into them, as it would seem from the surface, such as clay, sand, and round stones. Some of them contain metals and beautiful spars, others are composed of basalt. The basalt dike in the coal-mine at Walker is noted among mineralogists for being cased with cinders on each side.

Out of those mines, some of which are two hundred and eighty yards deep, the fossil is extracted by many ingenious contrivances, wherein the labour has in later times been greatly diminished by the application of steam-engines, which are now in universal use, the first having been set up in the year 1714. The coals are conveyed in railways to the water, by much the larger portion of them to the Tyne, where they are taken on ship-board and transported to London and all other quarters of the empire. They are reckoned superior to every other species; and even in districts where similar minerals abound most plentifully, it is customary for the people to procure a portion of Newcastle coals to mix with their own. In the neighbourhood of limestone strata, a kind of coal is found which, though comparatively useless in other respects, is employed for burning the attendant mineral, and excellently adapted for that purpose.

Some indications seem to favour the conjecture that coal-mines were worked by the Romans, and even by the Britons. Coal is mentioned as a well-known species of fuel in a grant dated A.D. 852, by which it is stipulated that twelve cart-loads of that fossil were to be paid yearly to the Abbey of Peterborough. It seems, however, to have fallen again into disuse, for no mention occurs of it till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when a charter was given to Newcastle by Henry III., allowing liberty "to dig coals and stones on the common soil of that town, without the walls thereof, in a place called the Castle-field and the Forth." This was in 1239. Soon afterwards the use of it began to extend from the forge to the kitchen; it has ever since continued to increase. In the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign a duty of fourpence per chaldron produced ten thousand pounds a year. Above four hundred ships were constantly employed in the trade; a fleet of fifty sail went laden from Newcastle to different ports of France, while the Dutch and Danes supplied those of Flanders. The unpopularity of Charles I. in London was greatly augmented by the taxes he imposed on this trade, and the monopolies he authorized in it. When the Scottish armies took Newcastle, the regulations of the Parliament lowered the price of coals greatly beneath the four pounds per chaldron to which it had once

risen, but the trade did not prosper under them. Still, however, the consumption of the article continued to diffuse itself. In 1699 Newcastle had two-thirds of the coal trade, and three hundred thousand chaldrons went annually to London. The over-sea trade employed about nine hundred thousand tons of shipping. In the whole trade were employed six hundred vessels of the average burden of eighty Newcastle chaldrons, manned by four thousand five hundred sailors. On the Tyne also were employed four hundred keels and nearly sixteen thousand keelmen. The inventions of Boulton and Watt, as well as the general improvement of the country, gave fresh vigour to the trade in coals. From the 1st of January 1802, to the end of December 1809, it appears that four million seven hundred and thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy-six chaldrons, or twelve million four hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and seven tons, were exported from the Tyne alone.

The mineral wealth of Northumberland, and the trade occasioned thereby, have exerted a beneficial influence on its agriculture. For a soil and climate in general so little favourable, farming is carried on with industry and spirit, and the produce is considerable. Notwithstanding its vast tracts of moory land, the annual value of a square mile on the average amounts to five hundred and twenty pounds. Landed property is a good deal sub-

divided; the rental of estates varies from the smallest sums to above thirty thousand pounds; in one instance it exceeds eighty thousand pounds. Towards the sources of the Tyne, and in some other mountainous districts, the ground is parcelled into lots, worth from thirty pounds to three hundred pounds a year, which are commonly farmed by their proprietors. As those *'statesmen* have in general received their property through a long succession of generations, they are apt to show a strong attachment to the useless, as well as to the useful, in ancient customs; they admire and imitate the honest though rude independence of their fathers, and give small countenance to innovation, whether it be improvement or the contrary. Farms are not less various in extent than estates are. In the southern and midland parts of the county the rent is often from fifty pounds to three hundred pounds; in the wards of Glendale and Bamborough it is from two thousand pounds to four thousand pounds.

In such a diversity of circumstances no one system of husbandry can be expected to prevail universally. On dry lands it is customary to adopt this rotation: turnips, barley, or wheat; clover for one or two years; oats, or wheat, if barley was grown previously. On strong loams the usual course is, fallow, wheat, clover, for one or two years; beans or oats. On moist thin loams, fallow, wheat, clover; grass-seeds for one or

two years. And upon moory soils, fallow, oats, clover; grass-seeds for two years. Some intelligent farmers in the north maintain that a course of three years tillage and three years grass is a much more profitable system than any other they have tried. Drill-sowing is generally preferred to broad-cast, and excellent manure abounding over all the county, is copiously applied. Lime is found in almost every quarter except in the porphyry districts of the Cheviots and some of the coal-fields in the south. Both stone-marle and shell-marle are likewise extensively diffused; sea-weeds, collected from the rocks or washed ashore by the waves during the fall, are eagerly collected along the coast, and a considerable supply of manure is annually brought from London as ballast by the ships employed in the coal trade.

The rearing of cattle is considerably attended to, particularly in the upland districts of the county. The cow is usually of the breed called Dutch; it grows rapidly; at the age of three years and a half the carcase, when fattened, will weigh from sixty to eighty stones. Sheep are produced in much greater numbers; they form a prominent department in the stock of corn-farms, or range over large moory tracts, which, though mostly the property of private individuals, are seldom enclosed, or separated otherwise than by streams, ridges of hills, and other

natural boundaries. The most common sorts are the Cheviot sheep, a beautiful breed, which weigh when fattened from twelve to eighteen pounds per quarter; the heath sheep, which are reckoned fittest for living on the mountains, and afford an excellently flavoured kind of mutton, weighing about eighteen pounds in the quarter; and the long-woolled or Dishly sheep, which are preferred in less elevated situations, being remarkable for fattening at a very early age. These last are said to have been greatly improved here by ingenious management; the carcase weighs from eighteen to twenty-six pounds per quarter, the fleece about seven and a half.

The exportation of its agricultural products give employment to a few Northumberland ships, besides what are employed in the coal trade, the nature of which has already been described. As the exports of the country are mostly in a raw state—as coals, its greatest export, in addition to this, are very bulky—the outward bound cargo is, of course, much more considerable than the inward. The intercourse is chiefly with the ports along the adjoining coast and a few places on the Continent. The grain and the salted provisions prepared within the county, its vessels carry out to various British harbours; they bring in Baltic or colonial goods, and most of the manufactured articles which are consumed between the interior mountains and the sea. Newcastle sends

three or four ships to the Greenland fishery. The internal manufactures are of no great extent, and little diffused over the county. Glass is the most prominent of them. It was introduced at Newcastle in 1619; at present there are twenty-eight glass-houses on the Tyne; the duties levied in them amount to nearly two hundred thousand pounds a year. Small potteries and foundries exist likewise in several quarters, and some establishments for working in gold and silver distinguish the county town.

In the time of Agricola, Northumberland formed part of the territory inhabited by the Ottadini, whose chief city Bremenium is yet discernible by its fragments of walls and edifices at Rochester in Redesdale. At a subsequent period this county became the northern boundary of the Roman possessions, and numerous ruins still show the importance attached to it as a frontier province. The Picts' Wall, extending from Newcastle to Bowness on the Solway Firth, originally served as a rampart against the barbarous tribes in the north, and yet remains in great preservation to cause endless disputes among antiquarians willing, and at the same time unable, to point out its founder. The prevailing opinion at present seems to be that Agricola constructed a chain of forts along the line of it before his departure, A.D. 87; that about the year 120 Hadrian raised a vallum of turf in the same direction; that Severus re-

paired this about eighty years after; and finally, that the last Roman legion sent to assist the Britons changed it into a wall of stone and mortar before quitting the island in 416. Along the side of this stupendous monument, with only one deviation to the south, a Roman road is to be traced from Wallsend to Caervorran. At this latter place the Maiden Way strikes off into Westmoreland. The Watling Street proceeds through the whole length of the county; it crosses the Tyne at Corbridge, and at Bewclay, a short distance north of the wall, it separates into two branches, one of which enters Scotland through Redesdale, the other a little to the west of Berwick.

After the departure of the Romans this part of the island was seized by Orta, a brother of Hengist; and long before the Saxon conquest was completed, he had driven the Britons far to the south, and secured to himself a province *north of the Humber*, which his successors, styled Ealdormen, held as a fee of the crown of Kent. In 547 Ida assumed the royal title, and his sway or his pretensions extended northward to the Clyde and the Forth. But this kingdom was ill-compacted, and frequently divided among rival claimants. Towards the end of the Heptarchy it became tributary to Wessex, whose king, Egbert, at length united all England under his authority. The Danes conquered Northumberland in 876, it was parcelled out among several of their chiefs,

and continued subject to Danish law till the time of Edward the Confessor. Its governors were styled Earls, but the territory attached to the title was in time greatly abridged. Edgar granted all the country between the Forth and the Tweed to Kenneth, king of Scotland, and the bishopric of Durham was cut off from it on the south by Alfred. The last Earls of Northumberland possessed little more than the present county, their office endured till after the Conquest, when it ended with Robert Mowbray, who rebelled against Rufus, and died a prisoner in Windsor Castle.

From this period till the accession of James I., Northumberland is chiefly distinguished as a part of the debatable land; the middle march and the eastern march of the border were both along its boundaries; and the country, perpetually engaged in broils with the contiguous districts of Scotland, had seldom any important concern in the general affairs of the kingdom. A prey to constant inroads—which they hoped to retaliate, scarcely to avert—the people on the northern frontier lived in a state of continual insecurity, and exhibited the rudest ferocity in their habits. The barons dwelt in strong castles or moated towers; the middle classes held their lands of the barons, chiefly by soccage tenure, and lived in buildings called *peels*, in the ground-floor of which their cattle were kept in the night, the upper rooms being reserved for the use of the

family. These persons, and still more the lowest class, were subject to a grievous burden in keeping night-watches at all the fords, passes, and inlets of valleys, to guard against incursions and spread alarm at the approach of an enemy. When the horn was sounded to give notice that the Scots were there, every person within hearing of it was obliged, under pain of death, to rise and follow the fray. In Redesdale and Tindale, the middle march, this kind of life lasted till a comparatively recent date.

"Both these valleys," says Camden, "produce notable bog-trotters, and both have their hills so swampy on the top as to be inaccessible to cavalry. All over these wastes one sees a set of people like the ancient Nomades, of a warlike disposition, who watch here with their flocks, from April to August, in scattered huts called sheales. Such adepts were they in the art of thieving, that they could twist a cow's horn, or mark a horse so that its owner could not know it. A person telling King James a surprising story of a cow that had been driven from the north of Scotland into the south of England, and, escaping from the herd, had found her way home again, the king replied, 'The most surprising part of the story you lay least stress on, is that she passed unstolen through the debatable land.'"

These dalesmen are still of a wandering disposition; they are to be met with in all the fairs of Britain, selling coarse earthenware, officiating as

itinerant tinkers, and following a thousand nondescript occupations. In the Parliament Wars, Northumberland was seized by the Scots, under Lesly, Newcastle being taken by storm in 1644. Since those commotions nothing has disturbed its quiet; increasing in wealth—because at liberty to employ its natural resources by the produce of its soil and, above all, by the produce of its mines—it has continued to add more and more to the strength of the kingdom of which it forms so indispensable a part, and with whose history its own is now inseparably blended.

According to the parliamentary returns, Northumberland with the town of Berwick in 1801 contained twenty-six thousand five hundred and eighteen houses, and a population of one hundred and fifty-seven thousand and ninety-one, whereof twenty-three thousand one hundred and ninety were employed in agriculture, and twenty-five thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight in trade and manufactures. In 1811 the number of houses was twenty-eight thousand two hundred and fifty-eight, the population one hundred and seventy-two thousand five hundred and sixty-one, the number of families employed in agriculture being ten thousand nine hundred and forty-five, and in trade and manufactures sixteen thousand five hundred and forty-seven.

See "Beauties of England and Wales," vol. xii. part first.

MUNGO PARK.

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PARK (MUNGO), distinguished for his African travels and their unfortunate termination, was born at the farm of Foulshiels, near Selkirk, on the 10th September 1771. His father, a person noted for many respectable qualities, appears to have been particularly anxious to communicate the advantages of education to his family, since, though by no means in opulent circumstances, he engaged a tutor to reside with him for this special purpose. Under this domestic superintendence, Mungo (the seventh child of the family) readily acquired the first elements of learning, and was in consequence at an early age removed to the grammar school of Selkirk to commence his classical studies. Here, too, he showed himself equally attentive and persevering, and the same deep calm ardour of mind, which at an after period was so conspicuously displayed, soon rendered him an object of permanent esteem to his teacher and fellow pupils.

It had been originally intended to educate Park for the Church, but as he himself inclined to

follow the medical profession, his friends were readily induced to comply with this desire, and at the age of fifteen he was placed under the care of Mr. Thomas Anderson, a respectable surgeon in the town where Park was then residing. With this gentleman he continued three years, occasionally attending the grammar school to perfect his knowledge of Greek and Latin, and in 1789 he went to the University of Edinburgh for the purpose of completing his medical studies, where, during three successive winters, he attended the common course of lectures necessary for obtaining a surgeon's diploma. His residence in Edinburgh did not present much room for the display of superior talents, but whatever opportunities it afforded for mental cultivation were diligently employed, and Park's attainments seem to have been considerably above those usually possessed by persons in this situation. He had, in particular, addicted himself with considerable assiduity to the study of natural history. During the summer vacations he made researches in botany among the pastoral hills of Yarrow, near which romantic stream Foulshiels is situated; and his appetite for such inquiries was at once gratified and strengthened by a tour which about this time he made into the Highlands, in company with his brother-in-law Mr. Dickson, whose eminence in this science had already procured him the patronage and friendship of Sir Joseph Banks.

Park had lost his father in 1790, and so soon as his medical studies were completed, he repaired to London in quest of employment. By the brother-in-law just mentioned, he was introduced to Sir Joseph Banks, who received him with the cordiality he was at all times ready to display in behalf of aspiring merit, and by his influence Park was shortly afterwards appointed surgeon to the *Worcester* East Indiaman. He sailed for Bencoolen in the island of Sumatra in February 1792, and returned next year without any material occurrences having distinguished his voyage. It would seem, however, that his passion for natural history was still unabated, since we find in the Transactions of the Linnæan Society a paper communicated by Park, and containing observations on several new species of fishes discovered by him during his stay on the coast of Sumatra. It is dated 4th November 1794.

Whether Park intended to prosecute the advantages held out by this new employment, we are not informed, but in a short time objects were presented more congenial to his taste and opening a wider scope for his ambition. Some years prior to this period, a number of individuals—with the laudable view of extending geographical knowledge and guiding, in some departments, the efforts of philanthropy—had formed themselves into an Association for promoting discoveries in the interior of Africa. They had already found

means to investigate the most important peculiarities in the northern part of this great continent, and had lately directed their chief attention to explore the course of the Joliba, or Niger—a celebrated river which yet no European eye had ever seen, and concerning which the knowledge of Europeans was so vague that different opinions existed even as to the direction of its current, some maintaining with Herodotus that it runs from east to west, others, on the contrary, from west to east. Major Houghton, whom the Association had despatched to ascertain these points, fell in with the Moors on his journey, and came to a miserable death among them. Accounts of this occurrence had already reached England, and it was now an object to find a person properly qualified for executing the enterprise in which he had so unhappily failed. Sir Joseph Banks was an active member of the Association, and Park, who lived with him on the most friendly footing, immediately occurred to his mind as uniting most of the requisites for such an undertaking. Park had never, indeed, particularly turned his attention to geographical inquiries, but his natural temper inclined him to long for the hazardous adventures and magnificent excitements attached to such an expedition. His constitution, naturally robust, was now in some degree habituated to warm climates, and the necessary previous information might be ac-

quired without difficulty. He eagerly gave in to his patron's suggestion. Sir Joseph warmly recommended him to the Association, whose terms appeared sufficiently liberal, and after a few additional inquiries they willingly accepted him.

In consequence of this appointment, he left Portsmouth on the 22nd May 1795, in the *Endeavour*, an African trader, and arrived at Jillifree, near the mouth of the Gambia, on the 21st June. From this place he proceeded directly to Pisania, a British factory two hundred miles up the river, and was kindly received by Dr. Laidley, the superintendent, in whose house he resided some months, learning Mandingo, the dialect generally spoken in those parts, and collecting information with regard to his future journey. On the 2nd December Park took leave of this last English friend, and directed his steps eastward in search of the Joliba. Soon, however, the intelligence of a war having occurred between two native chiefs, through whose territories he was to pass, induced him to bend his course to the north, into the country of the Moors. He had not proceeded far till a horde of that savage people surprised and took him prisoner. He was carried before Ali, their leader, and treated with a degree of inhumanity which, combined with the severe fever partly occasioned by it, would have broken any spirit less energetic than his own. He bore up, however, under the accumu-

lated horrors of bodily exhaustion and barbarous captivity, till at length he fortunately escaped from the camp in the month of June. He reckoned his escape fortunate, though, in truth, it might seem but a change of misery. Alone in the African desert, his body worn out with sickness, and perishing for thirst, it is impossible to estimate the hardships he must have endured. Three weeks of painful wandering were at length, however rewarded by a sight, which, in his estimation, compensated for them all. Approaching towards Sego, a considerable town on the banks of the Niger, he thus describes his feelings: "While we were riding together, and I was anxiously looking round for the river, one of the negroes called out, '*Geo affilli!*' ('See the water!') and looking forwards, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission, the long-sought-for majestic Niger, glittering to the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly *to the eastward*. I hastened to the brink, and, having drank of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the great Ruler of all things for having thus far crowned my endeavours with success."

He had now indeed seen this mysterious stream, and ascertained the great fact of its flowing to the eastward; but more than this was beyond his power to accomplish. The presence of a white man excited jealousies among the Moorish traders

of Sego; he did not find it safe to remain there, and, after proceeding onwards to Silla, where similar jealousies awaited him, a comparison of the difficulties to be surmounted with the means he had of surmounting them, too clearly showed that he must needs return. The approach of the rainy season, whose destructive qualities he had previously experienced at Pisania, even required that he should lose no time in returning. Indeed, but for a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, he had little reason to expect to succeed in again reaching the Gambia. By the time he had arrived at Kamalia, still five hundred miles distant from the nearest British settlement, the rainy season had set in; and Park being attacked with a fever, from which he recovered slowly and imperfectly, was glad to accept the hospitality of Karfa Taura, a benevolent negro, who proffered to entertain him in his house till a coffle, or caravan of slaves, should set out to the European settlements. This did not occur till the latter end of April, and the journey, attended with great difficulty and distress lasted upwards of six weeks. On the 10th June 1797 Park once more reached Pisania. He was received by Dr. Laidley "as one risen from the dead." In a few days he went on board an American store-ship, which, after a tempestuous passage, reached the island of Antigua with great difficulty, from whence, having embarked for England, he arrived at Falmouth on the 22nd

December, after an absence from Britain of two years and seven months. It is mentioned as a circumstance connected with his return that, having instantly hastened from Falmouth to London, for the purpose of gaining intelligence about the many friends from whom he had been so long separated, Park arrived at the metropolis before daylight, and, not caring to disturb his brother-in-law Mr. Dickson's family, determined to walk about the streets till their hour of rising. Finding the door of the British Museum gardens open, he entered, and had already continued some time, when Mr. Dickson, to whose charge the gardens were committed, having gone to his post that morning sooner than usual, here found, in this strange and unexpected manner, the relative whom he had long lost and numbered with the dead.

It is easy to conceive the feeling of such a *rencontre*, and the joy with which the news of it was received by all immediately concerned; but the interest excited by Park's return was not confined to his personal friends and those who knew him individually. It was looked upon as a kind of triumph by the Association, whose hopes and projects it had in some measure fulfilled; while the traveller's long absence, his dangerous adventures, and the extraordinary things he was said to have discovered, caused the public in general to regard him with a mingled curiosity and esteem, and to expect the appearance of his

travels with no ordinary impatience. In the course of two years these anticipations were amply realised. Immediately on finishing his arrangements in London, Park returned to Foulshiels, where, in the bosom of domestic affection, in the pastoral solitude of his native glens, he busied himself strenuously in preparing his narrative for the press. It came out in the spring of 1799. Few books of travels have acquired so speedy and extensive a reputation as this of Park's. It was sought for with an eagerness which might have done credit to a novel; and the reader—whilst his imagination was exalted by the remoteness, the imminent perils, and strange scenes of the journey—could not help feeling something like affection for a person so kindly, so resolute, and yet so unassuming.

It still continues one of the most popular works of its class, and the qualities, both of its subject and manner, well deserve this pre-eminence. In perusing it we follow the traveller with a keen anxiety; we participate in all his toils, and dangers, and hairbreadth escapes, portrayed with a brief and touching simplicity, which at once awakens our sympathies by its indubitable air of truth; we are instructed and entertained by his delineation of those vast countries and the rude tribes which people them; we admire his modest though unshaken fortitude; we love the honesty and benevolent candour

everywhere displayed by him. Many travellers have possessed more learning, more philosophy, and greater intellectual endowments; but none has ever known better the secret of concentrating our attention and calling forth our esteem. It required not only extraordinary strength of mind to accomplish this undertaking; no common powers of fancy and judgment were also requisite to describe it so agreeably.*

The profits of this publication, added to the recompense allowed him by his employers, had for the present placed Park in easy circumstances. In the autumn of this year he married the eldest daughter of Mr. Anderson of Selkirk, his former master—a union adding greatly to his happiness for the short period during which he enjoyed it. In the meantime, however, his way of life was undetermined, and it required some firmness to bear up under the cloud which overhung his future prospects. At one time he was applied to by Government to engage in a mission which they had it in view to send out to New Holland; at another, he was on the point of taking a farm; and two years passed away in the house of his

* A question has been started as to the share which Mr. Bryan Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, had in preparing Park's work for the public. From the evidence adduced, it does not however seem that Mr. Edwards did more than exercise a general superintendence over the language and style, leaving the substantial merits and difficulties of the labour to Park himself.

mother and brother at Foulshiels before he could finally determine to resume the exercise of his profession at Peebles, where a favourable opening, as he thought, occurred in 1801.

The reputation attached to his name and the amiableness of his general character soon procured him a respectable practice. He was beloved by the poor, to whom he showed himself at all times charitable and compassionate, and several eminent literary characters in the neighbourhood, particularly Dr. Adam Fergusson, and Mr. (now Sir Walter) Scott, were eager to number in the list of their friends a person so distinguished for his unaffected worth and great achievements. But the duties of a country surgeon, at all times laborious, and still more so in a thinly peopled district, seem never to have been much to his taste; they were now rendered more disagreeable from the pre-existence of contrary habits and the solicitations of those magnificent projects which his late journey had naturally called into being.

Park felt dissatisfied and impatient in the narrow circle to which he was now confined; and while traversing the bleak moors of Tweeddale, his mind was brooding with enthusiastic hope over the image of brilliant discoveries which he thought himself yet destined to make in the centre of Africa. He was alive indeed to all the dangers and hard vicissitudes from which he had already only escaped as if by miracle, whilst suffering from the

effects of indigestion, with which since his return he had been considerably afflicted; his disturbed slumbers used frequently to embody his pain in the shape of those miseries he had endured when in Africa; he would dream of being in the camp of the Moors, exposed to the brutal violence of Ali, and awake in extreme agitation. But the ardent temper of his mind was not to be damped by such considerations.

The evils of an African journey were distant in place, and becoming more distant in time, whilst the disquietudes of his present situation had the painful quality of presence and reality, and he turned from them with disgust, to contemplate the more exalted prospects which imagination delighted to picture in the scene of his former adventures. Those feelings were strengthened, and in part concentrated to a definite object, by an acquaintance which about this period he formed with Mr. George Maxwell, a gentleman of that quarter, formerly an African trader, who had frequently visited the mouth of the Congo, and from his own observations had come to the conclusion, which in time Park also adopted, that this river was nothing but a continuation of the Niger. Park longed to verify this idea, and to immortalise his name by so splendid a discovery.

The obstructions under which he laboured were growing daily more irksome, when fortunately, as he judged, an opportunity occurred of putting his

darling scheme into execution. In the autumn of 1803 a letter from the Colonial Secretary of State's office informed him that Government designed to send a mission into the interior of Africa, for the purpose of arranging which his presence in London was required immediately.

Before finally agreeing with the terms proposed to him on the part of Government by Lord Hobart, whom he had hastened to meet, Park requested liberty to return home and deliberate the matter with his friends. He returned accordingly and consulted a few of them, but his resolution was easy to anticipate. Now at last he felt himself upon the brink of that vast enterprise on which he had longed so much to embark, and, compared with such excitements as it offered, the disquieting obstructions of his actual situation appeared insupportable. When his brother represented to him the hazard of a second African expedition, the almost certain destruction connected with it, he replied, that a few inglorious winters of country practice at Peebles would kill him as effectually as the most formidable occurrence he could meet with in the deserts of Africa.

Yet his heart was not insensible to those tender ties which he now felt himself called upon to break asunder. He parted from his family with the most profound emotions, which he tried to enliven with the hopes of soon meeting again—a hope resulting more from his own vigorous deter-

mination than from any estimate of the difficulties he had to strive with. This hope was indeed fulfilled sooner than even his friends could have wished, if they looked beyond the feelings of the moment.

On arriving at London, Park was appointed to sail in the month of February 1804, but the change of Ministry already contemplated and finally brought about by Mr. Addington's resignation, produced among its other alterations an alteration of the enterprise in question. Lord Camden, now Secretary of State, gave notice that the expedition could not sail before September, if it sailed at all; and it was suggested to Park, impatient of this delay yet obliged to acquiesce in it, that the intervening period might be profitably employed in acquiring the habit of making astronomical observations, and gaining a knowledge of the Arabic language. Accordingly, having engaged Sidi Ombac, a native of Mogadore, for the latter purpose and taking proper instruments with him for the former, he returned to Scotland in the latter end of September.

This period of leisure was employed by him in his mother's house at Foulshiels, from which, however, he was shortly summoned, and, avoiding the bitterness of a second formal separation, under pretence of a journey to Edinburgh he quitted the paternal roof, under which so many calm and peaceful days had passed over him,

and to which he was destined never more to return.

The main object proposed by Park in this second expedition was to ascertain the course and termination of the river Niger, which, according to his own opinion, was identical with the river Congo in the southern hemisphere. Several distinguished geographers, among others Major Rennel, had adopted the supposition that the Niger terminates in a series of lakes in the interior of the continent, and is there evaporated by the heat of the sun. The major was so persuaded of this, and on other grounds so impressed with the forlornness and peril of the projected expedition, that when Park, before undertaking it, was directed to consult him, the major laboured earnestly to dissuade his friend from embarking in such an enterprise. His arguments produced a transient effect—yet it was but transient; and Park, on returning to town, was still inflexibly determined to set his life on the risk of proving the Niger and Congo to be the same, or of finding means to traverse the African desert should the Niger be discovered not to terminate at the ocean.

For effecting his intentions, it was finally agreed that he should take with him forty soldiers from the garrison of Goree, having first procured fifty asses at the island of St. Jago, to transport their provisions and baggage; that in company with

these men he should penetrate as speedily as possible to Sego on the Niger, and then construct a vessel with which it was proposed that he should proceed along the course of the river as far as it was navigable. A commission of brevet captain was bestowed on him; his brother-in-law Mr. Anderson as second in command, and his countryman Mr. Scott as draughtsman, with some carpenters and mechanics, were appointed to attend him, and he left Portsmouth in the *Crescent* transport on the 30th of January 1805.

The voyage to St. Jago and then to Goree roads was prosperous, and thirty-five soldiers, with a lieutenant belonging to the garrison, and Isaaco, a native priest and travelling merchant, were easily induced to accompany him. But here the prosperity of the enterprise may be said to have come to an end. The year was unluckily too far advanced for allowing them to reach the Niger before the rainy season began; but as Park preferred the alternative of setting out immediately, even with such a chance against him, to that of continuing seven months in a state of inaction, they lost no time in taking their departure.

Having assembled at Kayee, on the 27th April, they proceeded eastward without material difficulty to Badoo, where Park had an opportunity of writing to his friends; but long before they reached the Niger, the fatal rainy season had set in. In

half an hour after its commencement the whole troop were affected with a certain degree of sickness, and in a few days a horrible dysentery attacked them, and committed the most painful ravages in this little party.

On arriving at Macaboo, on the banks of the Niger, no more than eleven of the forty-five Europeans who had left Goree remained alive, and before they reached Sansanding, and concluded their negotiations with Mansong, the king of that country, for a free passage through his dominions, the number was reduced to Park himself, Lieutenant Martyn, and three soldiers, one of them in a state of insanity. Yet even here Park, on whom the chief toil and anxiety of a journey obstructed by so much misfortune had devolved, never allowed his mind for a moment to misgive him. Though finally seized with the disorder himself, he expelled it immediately by the action of powerful medicines on a vigorous constitution; and having at length adjusted the discussions with Mansong, in a manner which does equal credit to his prudence and firmness, he prepared to embark the remainder of his stores and attendants in a vessel constructed principally by the labour of his own hands, and named "His Majesty's schooner *Joliba*," in reference to the stream which he proposed to explore by means of it.

The letters which he wrote from this place to England display well his inflexible yet modest

courage in circumstances which might have daunted the stoutest and most ardent heart. To his wife he expressed the strong and cheerful hope of being in England next May; and to Lord Camden, with whom he had less inducement to palliate his difficulties, he thus states his determination:—

"My dear friend Mr. Anderson, and likewise Mr. Scott, are both dead; but though all the Europeans who are with me should die, and though I were myself half dead, I would still persevere; and if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, I would at last die on the Niger."

This was on the 17th November 1805. On the 19th, having first despatched Isaaco with his letters, and a journal containing notes of the principal occurrences which had taken place, and the principal observations that had been made during the previous journey, Park set sail; and here all knowledge of his history or fortune leaves us. He proceeded down the Niger, but where or how his voyage ended is—and perhaps may long continue—a point about which conjecture is all we have to offer. It is true some years after, when nothing was heard of Park but unfavourable though vague reports from the interior, the governor of Goree sent Isaaco to discover, if possible, the truth or falsehood of those statements which daily reached the coast in a more

decisive tone; and Isaaco returned with a journal of his proceedings, to which was attached a narrative from the mouth of Amadi Fatouma, the guide with whom Park sailed down the river; but though this Amadi pretended to give an account of the exact circumstances attending Park's death, his report was such as by no means to gain general credit. He stated that, after proceeding for about a month on their voyage, he himself having left Park under the guidance of another pilot, some dispute occurred with a native chief, and in consequence the European party were attacked at a place called Boussa, where the stream is much interrupted by rocks; and all his attendants but one being killed, Park seized this person and sprung with him into the river, where both quickly expired.

It is evident enough that little trust can be given to this detail. Some parts of it, indeed, particularly the theatrical circumstance of jumping into the river, are doubtless mere creations of Amadi's fancy; but the great fact, the only important one, of Park's being actually dead, cannot for a moment be called in question. How he died we may perhaps never know; all we are certain of is, that he died in the prosecution of his undertaking—most probably upon the Niger, as he had already professed to be his determination, rather than fail in the object of his mission.

The only memorial of this journey, the notes sent by Isaaco from Sansanding, together with Isaaco's own journal, were published in 1815. Being written on the spot, and under events so harassing, the information communicated by this work (never in the slightest degree intended for meeting the public) is, of course, defective and meagre. The impression produced by its simple and faithful though hurried sketches is perhaps unpleasant on the whole; we are shocked with the view of such extreme wretchedness endured with so little advantage to repay it. But the character of Park cannot fail to rise in our estimation from perusing it. The same qualities of calm intrepidity, strong resolution, and unaffected kindliness which his former journey had brought to light, are here exhibited under circumstances of a deeper and more painful interest; and the friends of geographical discovery, while they lament the loss of a person every way so qualified to have extended its boundaries, will be joined by the admirers of human worth in deploring the untimely fate of a man whose energetic yet affectionate character did honour to the country that gave him birth.

In private life Park was distinguished by the same mild warmth of disposition so often alluded to—a mildness occasioned partly, perhaps, by that habit of reserve and shyness under which the strong lineaments of his mind were usually hid.

He felt little delight in general society, and the modesty of his nature was distressed whenever he became an object of particular attention. The end of all his wishes, the *beau ideal* of his thoughts, was to retire to the country and conclude his days in the bosom of retirement and domestic affections. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the prevailing activity of his disposition would have allowed him to find much happiness in realising this *beau ideal;* but the circumstance of his having formed it bespeaks a simplicity of taste, an honest sensibility, which it is pleasing to see united with a temper so resolute and ardent; and Park may be pointed out as one of the most unpretending, and at the same time valuable, specimens of humanity that embellished the age and country in which he lived.

See "Park's Travels," first and second parts; and "The Life," prefixed to the latter.

WILLIAM PITT,

EARL OF CHATHAM.

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PITT (WILLIAM, Earl of Chatham), the second son of Robert Pitt, Esq., of Boconnoc in the county of Cornwall, was born on the 15th of November 1708. The family was originally of Blandford in Dorsetshire; Christopher Pitt, the translator of Vida and Virgil, and Thomas Pitt, governor of Madras in the reign of Queen Anne, were both of this place. The latter was Chatham's grandfather, and likewise remarkable as having purchased, during his residence in the East, the jewel known by the name of the *Pitt diamond*, which weighed one hundred and twenty-seven carats, and was afterwards sold by him to the king of France for one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds, having originally cost twenty thousand four hundred pounds. It may also be worthy of mention that by the wife of this gentleman Chatham was descended from the Regent Murray, natural son of James V. of Scotland.

Of Chatham's youth and early habits little is recorded, except that he studied at Eton as a foundation-scholar, was removed to Trinity College, Oxford, in 1726, and left the University without taking any degree. His proficiency in the attainments usually acquired there may, however, be inferred from the circumstance that some Latin verses of his were judged fit to appear in the collection printed by that learned body on the death of George I.; and still more certainly from the predilection for classical pursuits which he displayed in after life, and the decidedly classical tincture which pervades all his compositions. Demosthenes is said to have been so great a favourite with him, that he repeatedly translated certain of his orations into English.

The immediate cause of his removal from Oxford was a hereditary gout, which had already attacked him at Eton in his sixteenth year. He sought to expel the disorder by travelling; he made the tour of France, and visited Italy, but without realising his purpose; his gout still adhered to him, it preyed upon his constitution throughout life, and never left him till it gained the mastery. To an ordinary mind this malady would have proved a severe misfortune; Pitt found means to convert it into almost an advantage. Excluded by it from the gaieties and dissipations of common life, he applied himself the more earnestly to the acquisition of knowledge;

he read, and wrote, and studied, endeavouring by every method in his power to cultivate those faculties which were one day to become the ornament of his age and nation.

In the meantime, however, his immediate prospects were by no means magnificent. He had lost his father in 1727; a scanty fortune and a sickly frame made him anxious for some fixed appointment, and he was glad to accept a commission of cornet in the Blues, which some of his friends had interest enough to procure for him. But his inclinations pointed to a different scene. The leisure which his duties left him was still sedulously consecrated to the improvement of his mind, and he longed to employ in public life those talents he had been so careful to perfect.

In 1735 this opportunity was granted him; he was that year returned Member for Old Sarum, to serve in the ninth Parliament of Great Britain. The appearance he made there was such as to justify all his hopes, and to awaken hopes still more glorious. His eloquence soon became the pride of his friends and the terror of all that opposed him. A fine voice and figure prepossessed the hearers in his favour, and the sentiments and opinions which he uttered bespoke a great and noble mind. There was in him a stern inexpiable contempt for meanness in whatever shape, a fervid enthusiasm for the cause of freedom, for the

honour of his country, for all good and worthy things, the whole tempered and matured by a strong commanding intellect, the force and justness of which might have seemed scarcely compatible with so much youthful ardour. His acquired advantages gave full scope to those gifts of nature. The style he employed was chaste, regular, and argumentative, yet both splendid and impassioned; and the energetic graces of his delivery gave new power to what he spoke. When warmed with his subject, when pouring forth his own glowing feelings and emphatic convictions, in language as glowing and emphatic, the attitude of conscious strength which he assumed, his lofty looks, his indignant glance, would dismay the stoutest and most subtle of his opponents; and the veterans of Parliament have stood abashed in the presence of a youth.

Sir Robert Walpole, in his pride of place, with all the dexterity of ministerial management which a life had been spent in acquiring, was awed before this champion of simple virtue. Detected in his sophistries, stigmatised for his corruptions, baffled in his attempts at retaliation or defence, this intriguing statesman came at length to dread as the signal of defeat the very sound of his adversary's voice. "Let us before all things," said he, "try to muzzle this terrible cornet of horse."

But the enterprise was ineffectual, the cornet

was not to be "muzzled;" and if Sir Robert still believed in his favourite maxim, "that every man has his price," it must have mortified him to discover that the price of Pitt was not within the compass of his gift. Unable to gain over, he took the imperfect satisfaction of alienating still further. Pitt was deprived of his commission in the army, and this stroke of official severity, while it confirmed him in his opposition, rendered him still dearer to the public, whose rights he was asserting. It strengthened him also in the favour of Frederick Prince of Wales, the centre at that period of all who aimed at a change of men and measures. Pitt was appointed Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, in the year 1737.

He continued in the successive sessions of Parliament to support the same liberal principles which he had at first adopted, the increase of years increasing his experience in the principles of policy and government, without seeming to abate the ardour of his zeal. He distinguished himself by his animated hostility to the *Spanish Convention*, in 1738,* and generally by his aversion to every measure that appeared likely to injure the rights of the subject or the lasting interests of the country. His speeches contributed not a little to

* It was in the course of this debate that he pronounced his spirited reply to Horatio Walpole's sneers against his youth and declamatory manner. Translated into the language of Dr. Johnson, this piece is familiar to every reader.

the downfall of Sir Robert Walpole. One of his most brilliant displays is preserved in the reported debate on a motion for an inquiry into the last ten years of that statesman's administration. The motion, though carried in the House of Commons, was defeated of its object by a ministerial manœuvre, but it sealed the ruin of the Walpole party, and yet affords a striking indication of the powers of this young, and ardent, and enlightened politician.

The Pelhams, who succeeded Walpole, wishing to secure the co-operation of Pitt, attempted to get him brought into office, but a formidable obstacle stood in the way. The king was offended at Pitt for joining with the heir apparent to oppose the favourite Minister and his Hanoverian politics; he refused to consent to his admission. The Pelhams resigned in consequence, but were shortly afterwards reinstated, and brought Pitt along with them as Vice-Treasurer of Ireland in 1746. This post was soon converted into that of Treasurer, and then exchanged for the place of Privy Councillor and Paymaster-General of the Forces. His conduct in this latter situation served to display the disinterested integrity of his nature; he disdained to retain any portion of the public money in his hands to profit by its interest, or by speculating with it in the funds, though his predecessors had acted thus without scruple; he even refused the usual perquisites of

his office when they seemed unmerited by the duties of it. Such a manner of proceeding seemed to exemplify in practice the high principles which he had professed as an orator; it sanctioned and augmented the favour in which he had long stood over all the empire. With the king it was less successful; George II. still viewed Pitt with a jealous eye, and Pitt was still inflexible in maintaining what he thought the true advantage of Britain against all the frowns of royalty and the intrigues of Court. In the beginning of the seven years' war, when His Majesty returned from the Continent and presented the subsidiary treaties he had made with Hesse Cassel and Prussia for the defence of his beloved Hanover, Pitt did not hesitate to speak in Parliament against their ratification. He was, in consequence, dismissed from office, and Mr. Legge, who had partaken in his fault, partook also in his punishment. This was in 1755.

Pitt was now again a private man, but surrounded with a blaze of reputation which few Ministers would not have envied. The long and brave struggle he had made in defence of their privileges endeared him to the people; his virtue, proved alike in place and out of it, gave a new and more steady lustre to the splendour which his high talents shed around him. In 1744 the Duchess of Marlborough had left him a legacy of

ten thousand pounds, "upon account," as her testament expressed it, "of his merit in the noble defence he has made for the support of the laws of England, and to prevent the ruin of his country." Eleven years had now elapsed since the date of this splendid testimonial, nine of which had been spent in office, amid temptations such as have ruined the fame of many a patriot, yet still his popularity had continued to augment, and his late disfavour at Court, by investing him with something of the grace of a martyr, had raised it to a higher pitch than ever. Men called him the "Great Commoner;" he was listened to by the nation as its guardian and father.

Happy in these circumstances of his public situation, Pitt was also happy in his domestic circle. In 1754 he had married Hester, only daughter of Richard Grenville, Esq., and of the Countess of Temple—a lady whose accomplishments, and graces, and affection formed a permanent solace to him throughout the remainder of his life. In a short time also he had reason to applaud the wisdom of his own anticipations, and to pity the incapacity of the actual Ministers. He spoke loudly against the policy of sending English money to defend Hanover by subsidies; he reprobated the idea of introducing Hanoverian soldiers to defend England. The course of events strongly seconded his reasoning; the beginning of the seven years' war was marked to Britain by

nothing but disasters; the nation murmured, addresses and petitions called vehemently for a change, and the universal voice named Pitt as the man. His Majesty was again obliged to treat with this discarded servant; a new Ministry was formed in 1756, in which Pitt took the post of Secretary of State, his friend Mr. Legge being Chancellor of the Exchequer. His Majesty's repugnance and difficulties are strongly marked by the fact that, having a second time dismissed Pitt for his inflexible opposition to the Duke of Cumberland as general of the German war, he was again forced by the public opinion to recall him, with the most ample concessions. Pitt resumed his place as Secretary on the 29th of June 1757, and formed a Cabinet according to his own choice. His personal influence, of course, was the predominating; he was unfettered by conflicting colleagues; even the king's prepossessions began to abate. Pitt in their preliminary interview had said to him, "Sire, give me your confidence, and I will deserve it." His Majesty had answered, "Deserve it, and you shall have it." There was at least henceforth no visible discordance between them.

It was now that the genius of Pitt shone forth with unclouded splendour in the eyes of all Europe. Unconstrained in his movements, the vigour of his own mind seemed to pervade every department of the public service; its influence

was soon felt in the remotest corners of the globe. He found the nation depressed and degraded; in three years he raised it to a height of greatness which it had never before attained. Devoting himself wholly to the duties of his office, entirely avoiding the pageantry of levées and public exhibitions, he bent himself with all his might to mature the plans he had formed for the national advantage, and to discover fit instruments for realising them. The extent of his information, the quickness of his understanding, enabled him at once to discover where the enemy was most assailable; his projects, magnificent as the mind that conceived them, were examined and provided for with the most scrupulous accuracy, and put in execution with an energy that ensured success.

The people were averse to any interference in the continental war; Pitt objected less to the fact of interference than to the actual manner of it. Dismissing the Duke of Cumberland from the command of the army, to which the convention at Kloster-sieben had shown too well that he was unequal, he assisted Frederick of Prussia by subsidies, and gave the English troops to be led by Ferdinand of Brunswick. Some outcry was raised against him at first; it was thought he should have shaken off the interest of Hanover entirely, but he underwent these censures, persevered in his measures, and "conquered America in Germany," as he predicted. The French being

occupied in these continental expeditions, and Frederick assisted by British gold to make head against them, their colonies and distant possessions were left ill guarded, and fell an easy prey to the vigorous attacks of the English. Before 1760 they had lost nearly all their foreign settlements, they were banished from Africa and Asia, and the Canadas had yielded to the heroism of Wolfe; the navy of France had scarcely an existence; her own coasts were continually insulted, and her people kept in constant terror of invasion. The talents and diligence of Pitt, the skill with which he administered the resources of Britain, had raised her to be the arbitress of Europe.

But all his triumphs abroad were insufficient to secure him against the vicissitudes of faction at home. In 1760 the king died, and the dependents of his successor George III. began to look with eagerness for a change. It is hinted also that Pitt was not too agreeable to some of his colleagues. The great and uniform success of all his enterprises had exalted his reputation to a height which it was painful for a competitor to contemplate, and his habit of seeing every obstacle give way to the commanding effort of his will had strengthened in him that rigidness of manner, that imposing inflexibility of purpose, which his friends might dignify as the natural expression of a lofty and self-dependent mind, but which his

enemies did not fail to brand with the name of arrogance or domineering ambition.

The Court sought a cause of quarrel with him, and one was not long in occurring. By the accuracy of his intelligence he had discovered the existence of that *family-compact* between the French and Spanish branches of the House of Bourbon, the secret influence of which had rendered abortive some recent attempts at making peace. With his characteristic decision, Pitt immediately moved for a declaration of war against Spain and a vigorous attack on her foreign possessions. He judged it better to surprise the enemy than be surprised by him, and the treachery of Spain seemed to authorise the omission of preliminary complaints and negotiations. The rest of the Cabinet thought otherwise; the question was debated keenly, Pitt's opinion was overruled, and hints were given that his concurrence was no longer indispensable. The popularity of a young king and the national desire for peace warranted them in such proceedings, but it was against the Minister's principle to incur responsibility where he had not the management; he resigned his office in October 1761. The applauses of all good men accompanied him in his retreat; he had the character of the most able and virtuous of statesmen. His private fortune was likewise increased by an annuity of three thousand pounds, conferred on him at his

resignation, to last during his life and that of his lady. The total inattention he had always manifested to his individual interests, while managing the concerns of the public, rendered this annuity a necessary gift. His lady was further honoured with the rank of the peerage, conferred on her by the title of Baroness of Chatham.

Again reduced to a private station, Pitt attended chiefly to his duties in Parliament; and without uniting himself to any party in the State, he kept a watchful eye over the public conduct of Ministers, delivering his sentiments in the same fearless spirit which had hitherto distinguished all his public exhibitions. When the Peace of Paris, which his own exertions had done so much to bring about, was to be concluded in 1762, he expressed himself warmly against the terms of it —against the smallness of the benefit likely to result to England from the commanding attitude she had maintained throughout the latter years of the war.

On the question of *General Warrants*, arising from the case of Wilkes in 1764, he delivered an animated speech against the legality of such exertions of official prerogative, reminding his hearers "that an Englishman's house was his castle, defended not indeed by battlements and bulwarks, but by the impassable though unseen barrier of law; it might be a straw-built shed into which every wind of heaven might

enter, but the king could not, the king dared not."

That his popularity remained undiminished was evinced by a fact striking enough in itself, and more so as it regarded him. Sir William Pynsent of Burton-Pynsent, in the county of Somerset, passed over his own family in order to bequeath an estate of three thousand pounds a year to this distinguished patriot. Already had the commencement of his political life been dignified by a similar tribute of approbation; it must have been doubly gratifying to find the same testimony still more unequivocally renewed, when the busiest and most dangerous part of it was past.

Pitt was again to be a Minister, but never so happy a one as he had been already. In 1766 the necessities of the Government once more called him to a share in it; the formation of a new Cabinet was entrusted to him, but the undertaking did not prosper in his hands. His brother-in-law and old associate Lord Temple, his friend the Marquis of Rockingham, could not enter into his views or act along with him, and the *Great Commoner* had offended many of his favourers by accepting of a peerage. He was made Earl of Chatham and Baron of Burton-Pynsent prior to his entrance upon office. Of his Ministry Mr. Burke has left us a curious and often quoted description. The members of it were the most

heterogeneous and discordant; the results they produced betrayed the feebleness of their union. Chatham resigned in two years, disgusted with the untowardness of his coadjutors, and tired of useless exertions to bend their clashing principles to a conformity with his own.

This was the last time he appeared in office; his strength and health were exhausted, years and excessive labour had increased the violence of his constitutional disorder, he wanted retirement and repose. His peerage had shut against him the habitual scene of his parliamentary exertions; he was not a constant attendant in the House of Lords; but when some great question called him forth from his retreat, the fire of his genius still shone with unabated brilliancy.

The chief theme of his oratory from this period was the quarrel with the American colonies, the interests and claims of which now began to occupy the principal share of the public attention. Chatham resisted the imposition of taxes on them; he warmly seconded the repeal of the *Stamp Act*. But when war had been undertaken—above all when France had taken part in it, he was resolute for continuing in arms at whatever risk. The memorable scene in which he displayed his anxiety on this head is well known. On the 7th of April 1778, the Duke of Richmond having moved an address to the king, in which the necessity of admitting the independence of America was

broadly insinuated, Chatham deprecated such a consummation in the strongest terms.

"I rejoice," said he, "that the grave has not closed upon me, that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the load of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I never will consent to tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions. Shall a people so lately the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? It is impossible! In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and if peace cannot be preserved with honour, why is not war commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. Any state, my lords, is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort, and if we must fall, let us fall like men."

The duke replied, and Chatham made an eager effort to rise that he might speak further. But in vain. His voice was never more to be heard in that senate which it had so often dignified and delighted. He staggered, laid his hand upon his bosom, fainted, and was caught in the arms of the

lords who sat near him and sprang to his assistance. They carried him into an adjoining room, and the House immediately adjourned. Medical assistance being procured, he was conveyed to his villa at Hayes in Kent, where he lingered only till the following 11th of May, and then died, in the seventieth year of his age.

The circumstances of his death combined with the general character of his life to render that event peculiarly impressive. News of it being conveyed to London by express, Colonel Barré reported the intelligence to Parliament, where it suspended all other business. The sense which the public entertained of their loss was manifested by the honours done to his memory. Party differences seemed to be forgotten; all joined in voting that his debts should be paid by the nation, and that a yearly sum of four thousand pounds should be permanently added from the Civil List to the title he had borne. He was buried in Westminster Abbey with all the pomp of a public funeral; and a piece of sculpture was afterwards erected, by way of monument, representing the last scene of his parliamentary life, and inscribed as the tribute of the King and Parliament to the Earl of Chatham.

The chief lineaments of Chatham's character may be gathered from the most meagre chronicle of his actions. That he was a man of a splendid and impetuous genius—adapted for the duties of

an orator by the vehemence of his feelings and the rich gifts of his intellect; for the duties of a statesman by his vastness of conception, his unwearied assiduity in ordering, his inflexible energy in execution—the highest and the humblest qualities that should combine to form a public man—may be learned from contemplating any portion of his public life. A survey of the whole will better show in how extraordinary a degree he possessed these requisites, and how richly he adorned them all by a truly noble style of sentiment, a rigid adherence to the great principles of honour and generosity, and every manly virtue.

And as his mind was singularly elevated, so has his fortune been singularly good. Few men that have acted so conspicuous a part have united so great a plurality of suffrages in their favour. The reason is, that he founded no sect, was the father of no party, but of the party that love their country and labour for it; and having thus been a genuine *catholic* in politics, his merits are admitted by all. Accordingly, the clamours that assailed him in life, the voice of obloquy and opposition, the memory of his failings, have long since died quite away; and Chatham is one in praise of whom the bitterest of party men forget their bitterness. He stands in the annals of Europe "an illustrious and venerable name," admired by countrymen and strangers, by all to

whom loftiness of moral principle and greatness of talent are objects of regard.

"His private life," says Lord Chesterfield, "was stained by no vice, nor sullied by any meanness. All his sentiments were liberal and elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great abilities and crowned by great success, makes what the world calls a great man. He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing—qualities which too often accompany, but always clog, great ones. He had manners and address, but one might discover through them too great a consciousness of his own superior talents. He was a most agreeable and lively companion in social life, and had such a versatility of wit that he could adapt it to all sorts of conversation. He had a most happy turn to poetry, but seldom indulged and seldom avowed it. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative as well as the declamatory way; but his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and such dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were most willing and best able to encounter him. Their arms fell out of their hands, and they struck under the ascendency which his genius gained over theirs."

If Chatham's faculties had not been more worthily employed, we might have regretted that

he left so few memorials of them in a literary shape. Many of his speeches under all the deformities of incorrect reporting are full of beauty, and a volume of "Letters" to his nephew, published some years ago, may be read with a pleasure independent of their author.

See "Life of Chatham," in three vols., and the public histories of the time.

WILLIAM PITT,

THE YOUNGER.

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PITT (WILLIAM), second son of the last-mentioned Earl of Chatham, was born on the 28th of May 1759. The early promise of his childhood was not unmarked by his father, and no means were left unemployed to realise it. Influenced partly by the delicate health of the boy, and still more by his own sense of a parent's duty, Lord Chatham had his son educated at home under his own immediate inspection. A tutor was engaged to instruct him in the elements of school-learning, and the great statesman himself devoted a portion of his leisure to form the principles and direct the understanding of his child. His manner of conducting this employment was suitable to the feeling which had prompted him to undertake it. He studied to sink the character of father in that of friend; he encouraged William and his other children to converse with him freely upon every topic; each day he made a point of delivering to them some instruction or advice, and every

evening he closed this paternal exercise by reading in their presence a chapter of the Bible.

It is also mentioned that William, being intended for a public speaker, one of his customary tasks was to declaim on some given topic in the presence of his father—a practice to which he doubtless in some degree owed the remarkable fluency and correctness of diction which afterwards characterised his speeches in Parliament.

Under such tuition the young man made a rapid proficiency. At the early age of fourteen he was found advanced enough for attending the University, and was entered accordingly at Pembroke Hall College, Cambridge, in 1773. His progress here was equally rapid; he enjoyed some peculiar advantages, and profited well by them. To the valuable gifts of nature, a quick apprehension and a retentive memory, he added the no less valuable habit of steadfast and zealous application, and, by his father's request, each of the two college tutors devoted an hour every day to his improvement. One of these tutors was Dr. Prettyman, now Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Winchester. His connection with Mr. Pitt began here; it gradually ripened into a closer attachment, and continued unbroken till death divided it. This circumstance speaks favourably for the feelings of Mr. Pitt; except in acts of mutual kindness there could be little sympathy between

them. The learned prelate is now writing a life of his illustrious pupil, three volumes of which have already been published.

Mr. Pitt was too young to acquire much distinction by his academical exercises among competitors grown up to manhood. But his residence at Cambridge was marked by qualities much more valuable than such distinctions imply. His diligence and regularity continued unabated; he was gradually enriching his mind with the treasures of learning, and forming his conduct on the principles of virtue and sobriety. Indulging in few relaxations and no excess, he pursued his studies with such intensity that his naturally feeble health was frequently in danger, and the chief care of his affectionate parent was not to excite his ardour, but to restrain it. "All you want at present," he writes to him on one occasion, "is quiet; with this if your ardour αριστευειν can be kept in till you are stronger, you will make noise enough. How happy the task, my noble amiable boy, to caution you *only against pursuing too much* all those liberal and praiseworthy things, to which less happy natures are to be perpetually spurred and driven! I will not tease you with too long a letter in favour of *inaction* and a competent *stupidity*, your best tutors and companions at present. You have time to spare; consider there is but the Encyclopædia, and when you have mastered all that,

what will remain? You will want like Alexander another world to conquer."

This excellent father he lost in 1778—a circumstance which to a less sound and steady mind might have proved of fatal consequence. But Mr. Pitt, in his nineteenth year, was equal to the guidance of himself; his plan of life had already been chalked out for him, and he possessed the qualifications necessary for pursuing it with success. Intended for the Bar and Senate, he busied himself unweariedly in preparing for the duties of both. After quitting the University and spending a winter at Rheims in France, having completed his terms at Lincoln's Inn, he was made a counsellor in 1780, whenever he became of age. In the ensuing western circuit he followed the court, and appeared in several minor causes with great approbation. But brighter prospects opened to him elsewhere; he never made another journey of this kind. The Parliament being dissolved in the autumn of the same year, he started as a candidate for the University of Cambridge. Here, indeed, he was unsuccessful; the interest of his competitors appeared so decidedly superior, that he withdrew without coming to a poll; but a few months afterwards the interest of Sir James Lowther procured him a seat for the borough of Appleby, and he took his place accordingly in January 1781.

In this scene of his father's early triumphs

Mr. Pitt was destined to secure as brilliant triumphs at an age still earlier. He had not yet completed his twenty-second year, and in a few weeks his talents had forced their way into notice, in spite of all the claims of the many distinguished orators who at that time swayed the House of Commons. His first speech was during the debate on Mr. Burke's Bill for an economical reform in the Civil List. He is said to have been in some degree surprised into speaking, but the appearance he made indicated no such want of preparation. Mr. Byng, the Member for Middlesex, knowing the sentiments of Mr. Pitt to be decidedly in favour of the Bill, had requested him to reply to Lord Nugent, at that moment addressing the House in its favour. Mr. Pitt gave his friend a dubious answer, which was construed into an assent, and the notice of it was circulated round in whispers. In the interim, however, he had come to the resolution *not* to rise, and it would have agitated a man of less self-possession to notice that, when Lord Nugent sat down, a universal pause ensued, and then a loud call from various quarters of the House for "Mr. Pitt." He stood up in consequence; his last biographer thus describes what followed:—

"Though really not intending to speak, he was from the beginning collected and unembarrassed; he argued strongly in favour of the Bill, and noticed all the objections which had been urged

by the noble lord who immediately preceded him in the debate, in a manner which greatly astonished all who heard him. Never were higher expectations formed of any person upon his first coming into Parliament, and never were expectations more completely answered. They were indeed much more than answered. Such were the fluency and accuracy of language, such the perspicuity of arrangement, and such the closeness of reasoning, and manly and dignified elocution—generally, even in a much less degree, the fruits of long habit and experience—that it could scarcely be believed to be the first speech of a young man not yet two-and-twenty."

Mr. Pitt spoke only thrice during this session, but he acquitted himself so well as, before the end of it, to secure the reputation of a most able orator, from the best judges of his time. One of Mr. Fox's friends about this period observed to him that Mr. Pitt promised to be one of the first speakers ever heard in the House of Commons; to which Mr. Fox instantly replied, "He is so already." A still warmer tribute of applause was paid him not long after by Mr. Dunning. "Almost all the sentiments," he said, "which he had collected in his own mind on the subject (the misconduct of our naval affairs) had vanished away like a dream on the bursting forth of a torrent of eloquence from the greatest prodigy that ever was seen in this,

or perhaps in any other country—an honourable gentleman possessing the full vigour of youth, united with the experience and wisdom of the maturest age."

The removal of Lord North and his adherents might have opened the way for Mr. Pitt's admission into office. The Rockingham party, anxious to appropriate the benefits of his eloquence, had even offered him the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland, a place of some consequence formerly held by his father. But Mr. Pitt, with a consciousness of great abilities, which succeeding events amply justified, had made up his mind from the first to accept of no situation which did not give him a place in the Cabinet. He therefore refused this offer, though he continued to support the measures of the Ministry, whose liberal system of government was naturally accordant with the principles of a son and pupil of the great Chatham. About this time also he brought forward the famous question of *Parliamentary Reform*. It appears that about that period he had felt a considerable interest in this important subject; he had encouraged the combinations formed in various parts of the kingdom in favour of it, and had himself sat as a delegate at a meeting convened in Westminster for this express purpose. He supported the same cause with great eloquence in his place in Parliament. His motion (May 1782) "for a Committee to inquire into the state of the representation in

Parliament, and to report to the House their observations thereon," was lost by a majority of twenty; he again spoke earnestly in favour of reform in 1783; and lastly, while a Minister, in 1785, he presented a specific plan for effecting this object, which also was rejected. These proceedings were long afterwards contrasted with his subsequent proceedings in the same matter, and much loud accusation was drawn from the comparison.

By the Marquis of Rockingham's death, Lord Shelburne became Prime Minister, and Mr. Pitt was associated with him as Chancellor of the Exchequer in June 1782. The task which devolved on him was one of great difficulty. Lord Shelburne's elevation had converted several of his friends into bitter enemies; his peace with America and France was at best but a humiliating affair; and the whole charge of managing the House of Commons was entrusted to Mr. Pitt. Scarcely arrived at the age of twenty-three, he had thus to make head against the most formidable opposition. Lord North was still in his place, with ability or extent of connection undiminished, and the hostility of Mr. Fox, who had left the Ministry at Rockingham's death, was at once strong and implacable. The quarrel of Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox is a well-known event; the mode in which the latter sought for justice or revenge is also well known, and very

diversely judged of. We need only at present remark, that the combination of Lord North and Mr. Fox overpowered the new and unstable Minister; he was compelled to resign, and Mr. Pitt went out with him in the beginning of 1783. Prior to this event we are told a reconciliation had been attempted. "Neither Mr. Pitt nor Lord Shelburne," says the Bishop of Winchester, "saw any reason why they should not act with Mr. Fox. It was therefore agreed that an offer should be made to him to return to office, for which purpose Mr. Pitt waited upon him by appointment. As soon as Mr. Fox heard the object of Mr. Pitt's visit, he asked whether it was intended that Lord Shelburne should remain First Lord of the Treasury, to which Mr. Pitt answered in the affirmative. Mr. Fox immediately replied that it was impossible for him to belong to any administration of which Lord Shelburne was the head. Mr. Pitt observed that, if such was his determination, it would be useless for him to enter into any further discussion, 'as he did not come to betray Lord Shelburne,' and he took his leave. This was, I believe, the last time Mr. Pitt was in a private room with Mr. Fox, and from this period may be dated that political hostility which continued through the remainder of their lives." The same feeling of integrity towards his colleague induced Mr. Pitt respectfully to decline the offer of

succeeding him, which the king condescended to make him in person. He again would not "betray Lord Shelburne," and under the Duke of Portland, the united party of Lord North and Mr. Fox came into office in their stead.

This famous Coalition Ministry was offensive at once to the king and to a great portion of the country. Mr. Fox's share in it was entirely approved of by none but his very warmest partisans. Mr. Pitt, though he was of those who thought it "monstrous, in the ardent defender of the people's rights, to unite with the lofty assertor of the prerogative," yet pledged himself not systematically to oppose their measures. They had his support on more than one occasion; but on the first motion of Mr. Fox's celebrated India Bill he expressed his unqualified dissent from it, and resisted it in all its stages. We need hardly mention the fate of this Bill—it was pushed through the House of Commons by overpowering majorities; but the king took the alarm at the great and permanent accession of influence which it seemed to confer on the Ministers; Lord Temple made known His Majesty's feelings, and the Bill was thrown out in the House of Lords. Mr. Fox and his colleagues were, in consequence, displaced.

The prospects of a Prime Minister at this juncture were far from inviting; the highest talents in the country, supported by the most powerful parliamentary interest and embittered by defeat,

were like to be arrayed against him; he could have nothing to rely on but the king's favour and his own abilities. Mr. Pitt, however, did not hesitate to accept this office; he was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in December 1783. The appalling state of matters soon became apparent. The new Minister's India Bill was rejected by a majority of two hundred and twenty-two to two hundred and fourteen; and a similar fate attended all the subsequent motions on which he divided the House. Nevertheless, Mr. Pitt stood his ground. Strong in the favour of the king, in the consciousness of his own abilities, and firmly believing in the goodness of his cause, he exerted himself with the most extraordinary diligence to vanquish the opposition made to him, and fix himself securely in the confidence of the nation at large. In this contest the versatility of his talents, the dexterity of his argumentation, the sharpness of his sarcasm, the ingenuity of all his measures, were not less wonderful than the firmness of mind which prompted him at an age so early to encounter single-handed some of the most formidable obstacles that ever Minister had to strive with. By dint of unwearied exertions he at length succeeded in reducing the majority which supported his opponents to a single voice, and finally in drawing over that voice also to his own side. Having prospered so far, and, what was more

important, having now, as he thought, convinced the public of the rectitude of his measures, he determined to appeal more immediately to the general sense of the nation, and the Parliament was dissolved in March 1784. The new election justified his hopes; there was now a decided majority in his favour, his India Bill passed, and he became Prime Minister in substance as well as form. He had earned his power with difficulty, and he kept it stedfastly. For the next seventeen years he was constantly in office.

His conduct during this long administration was marked by great caution and skill, and for a considerable period by the almost universal approbation of the country. The few faults found with it indicated how completely he had mastered the failings most likely to beset him. It was not the ardour of youth, its passion for dazzling schemes, or the indiscriminate zeal for splendid improvements, natural to one who had already declared himself so warmly in their favour, that were blamed, it was rather a circumspectness bordering on jealousy, a reverence for existing institutions, a coldness or hostility to innovation, which looked like political apostacy in the once powerful advocate for reform—the errors, in short, of an old and narrow-minded statesman, not of a young and highly-gifted one.

If these features of his public character gave little testimony as to the extent of his enthusiasm

or the warmth of his feelings, they indicated favourably respecting his prudence and the clearness of his judgment. Mr. Pitt had still a strong though no longer a triumphant opposition to encounter in Parliament; the public confidence was yet but partially merited, and it seemed good policy to avoid all extraordinary movements which might expose him to misrepresentations, or put his still wavering stability in danger. Accordingly, though continuing to patronise the principles of freedom and liberality which he had at first announced, he abstained from making any of them what are called Cabinet questions; he spoke and voted in their favour, but did little more. He no longer took a lead among their abettors; some of them he came at last resolutely to oppose. The friends of parliamentary reform expected that now, when the power was in his hands, the schemes he had twice proposed were at length to be realised; but his motion for this purpose in 1785 having, as we mentioned already, been rejected in the House of Commons, he never more recurred to the subject except as a decided opponent of those who pushed it forward. His conduct underwent censures on this head; they were augmented by his opposition to the repeal of the Test Act—a piece of management which many stigmatised as a homage done to bigotry and popular prejudice unworthy of the son of Chatham.

The same party who blamed him for his indifference to the cause of improvement at home, also blamed him for the minute jealousy of his conduct with foreign Powers. His disputes with Catharine of Russia about the fortress of Orchakow, and with Spain about the fur-trade of Nootka Sound, were exclaimed against as trifles which he was magnifying into causes of war. With the great body of the nation, however, he was still a decided favourite; they forgot these alleged blemishes in his character, or reckoned them as beauties, while they felt the substantial good he was effecting in many departments of domestic policy, and participated in the steady prosperity which the country enjoyed under his administration. The improvements he had made in collecting the revenue, his plans for preventing contraband trade, his general skill as a financier, were universally applauded. The probity and zeal with which he served the public had gradually secured him its confidence; and his admirable talents for debate, the unrivalled clearness of his expositions, the sagacity of his management, enabled him to influence in the requisite degree the deliberations of Parliament, and verified in the common opinion the high expectations at first entertained of him. His Ministry, if not brilliant, had hitherto been fortunate; a few disappointed reformers might murmur, but the voice of the country was yet with him.

The king also had long cordially approved of his measures, and the conduct of Mr. Pitt during the famous regency question is said greatly to have strengthened this sentiment. In 1788 His Majesty was seized with the first attack of that awful malady under which his days were destined to close. The head of the Government was declared to be incapable of discharging his functions, and the mode of supplying his place became an object of keen discussion, involving some of the most dubious principles of the constitution, and quickened by hopes and fears which had no reference to the general question.

As the Prince of Wales then favoured the Whig party, it was their interest to have him appointed regent with as few limitations as possible; Mr. Pitt's, on the contrary, with as many. The prevailing opinion appeared to sanction the views of the latter. Mr. Fox, in maintaining that the unrestricted regency should devolve on the heir-apparent independently of the two Houses of Parliament, was accused of forsaking those maxims of popular right which it had been the great object of his public life to support. During the discussion Mr. Pitt was countenanced by numerous addresses from various parts of the kingdom, and at length succeeded in passing a Bill of such a kind as he desired. His Majesty's recovery happily rendered this superfluous, but the Minister's prudence and firmness

were rewarded by an increase of confidence from his former adherents, and particularly from the master whose interests he watched over with such care.

Hitherto Mr. Pitt had proceeded without violent opposition, so as to gain the toleration of all ranks and the warm applause of many. But the next great event in which he took a share, while it united him more closely to his own party, made an irreparable breach between him and those who adopted the contrary side. In 1789 the French Revolution broke out, convulsing all Europe by its explosion, and it became a momentous question to determine what measures England should follow in a crisis so terrible. For the arbitrary monarchs of the Continent it was natural to view with horror and aversion this formidable display of democratic principles. Was Great Britain to join in their league against the dishonoured cause of freedom, to check the disseminators of such doctrines by coercion and punishment at home and abroad? or, standing aloof from the contest, to guard her own internal quiet and study to promote her own interest by the favourable conjunctures of a struggle which she might contemplate without mixing in it? The latter was in part the opinion of one class, at the head of which was Mr. Fox; the former was the plan adopted by Mr. Pitt.

He embarked with great zeal in the Continental

War of 1792, and Britain became involved in that quarrel, the disasters of which overspread Europe with misery for five-and-twenty years. The commencement was eminently unsuccessful; the allied armies were defeated in every direction; the voice of discontent grew clamorous at home; commercial distress pressed heavy on the country; reformers came forward with wild and dangerous schemes, which the Government met by treatment of unexampled severity. The *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended, and political prosecutions multiplied without end. The events of the war continued to be unfortunate abroad, and at length a bloody rebellion broke out at home. Mr. Pitt's conduct in this universal commotion deserved the praise of steadfastness at least; he persevered in his resolution amid every difficulty; he strained every nerve to strike an effective blow at France; he met the danger of national bankruptcy by the suspension of cash payments; he prosecuted reformers; he quelled the rebellion in Ireland, and united that kingdom to our own. For these exertions he was by many venerated as the saviour of the British Constitution; by a few he was almost execrated as its destroyer. One party fondly named him "the pilot that weathered the storm;" another reckoned that the "storm" was yet far from being "weathered."

Agitated and tired by these incessant conflicts, he must have viewed as a kind of relief his re-

tirement from office, which took place in 1801. Various reasons have been assigned for this step. Some say it was by reason of differences with the king in regard to the proper mode of treating the Irish Catholics; others assert that, being hopeless of making any peace with France, at all suitable to the high tone with which he had begun the war, he was willing to leave to others the ungracious task of completing this unprosperous enterprise. He was succeeded by Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth.

That both causes had some influence in his resignation was rendered probable by the line of conduct which Mr. Pitt pursued when out of office. He justified the Peace of Amiens in his place in Parliament; but in various important points he voted with the Opposition. This peace was of short duration; a new war was declared, and the existing Ministry being found inadequate for the support of it, Mr. Pitt was again called to the supreme charge in 1804. He formed a Cabinet by introducing several of his own friends, and retaining many of those already in place. His own station, as formerly, was that of First Lord of the Treasury.

Mr. Pitt was now to become a War Minister in earnest; he prepared himself for the most vigorous efforts to acquire the same reputation in this new department of public service as he had before acquired in that of finance. By his exer-

tions Russia and Austria entered into a new confederacy against France—which, it was at last hoped, these two formidable Powers would succeed in reducing to subjection. The battle of Austerlitz put an end to such expectations. Mr. Pitt's plans again became abortive; he was again beset with difficulties, and the state of his health rendered this stroke of misfortune peculiarly severe. The news of the French victory found him at Bath, to which he had been forced to retire in the end of 1805. His disorder originated in a tendency to gout, which he inherited from his father, and which his own anxious and overlaboured life, as well as his somewhat exuberant convivial habits, had of course strengthened rather than abated. The Bath waters gave him no permanent relief, and in the beginning of January he returned to his villa at Putney in a very weak state. Still his physicians saw no cause for immediate alarm, but before the 20th of the month various apprehensions were entertained for him, and a few hours of that day converted these apprehensions into mournful certainty.

A short while previous to his decease, Dr. Tomline, then Bishop of Lincoln, who watched affectionately over his illness, communicated to him the unfavourable opinion of Sir Walter Farquhar, his medical attendant. Mr. Pitt inquired of Sir Walter, who then stood beside his bed, "How long do you think I have to live?"

The physician expressed a faint hope that he would recover; a languid smile on the patient's countenance showed that he understood the reply. When the bishop requested leave to pray with him, he answered, "I fear I have, like too many other men, neglected prayer too much to have any hope that it can be efficacious on a death-bed; but," added he, making an effort to rise as he spoke, "I throw myself entirely on the mercy of God." He then joined in the exercises of devotion with much apparent meekness and humility. Of his death he spoke with calmness; arranged the settlement of his private concerns, and recommended his nieces to the gratitude of the nation. "I could wish," he said, "a thousand or fifteen hundred a-year to be given them if the public should think my long services deserving of it."

He died about four o'clock on the morning of the 23rd of January 1806, in the forty-seventh year of his age. The Parliament decreed him the honours of a public funeral, and granted the sum of forty thousand pounds to discharge his debts. A monument was afterwards erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey, and similar testimonies of the public feeling are to be met with in various quarters of the kingdom. His death, so unexpected and at so gloomy a period, was deeply regretted at home, and created a strong sensation over all Europe.

Of his character it is difficult to speak so as to escape contradiction; he passed his life in contests, and their influence extends beyond his grave. In his private relations it is universally admitted that, under a cold and rather haughty exterior, he bore a mind of great amiableness and sterling worth. The enthusiasm with which his intimate friends regarded him gives proof of this.

"With a manner somewhat reserved and distant," says Mr. Rose, "in what might be termed his public deportment, no man was ever better qualified to gain, or more successful in fixing, the attachment of his friends than Mr. Pitt. They saw all the powerful energies of his character softened into the most perfect complacency and sweetness of disposition in the circles of private life, the pleasures of which no one more cheerfully enjoyed or more agreeably promoted when the paramount duties he conceived himself to owe to the public admitted of his mixing in them. That indignant severity with which he met and subdued what he considered unfounded opposition, that keenness of sarcasm with which he expelled and withered, as it might be said, the powers of most of his assailants in debate, were exchanged in the society of his intimate friends for a kindness of heart, a gentleness of demeanour, and a playfulness of good humour which no one ever witnessed without interest, or participated in without delight."

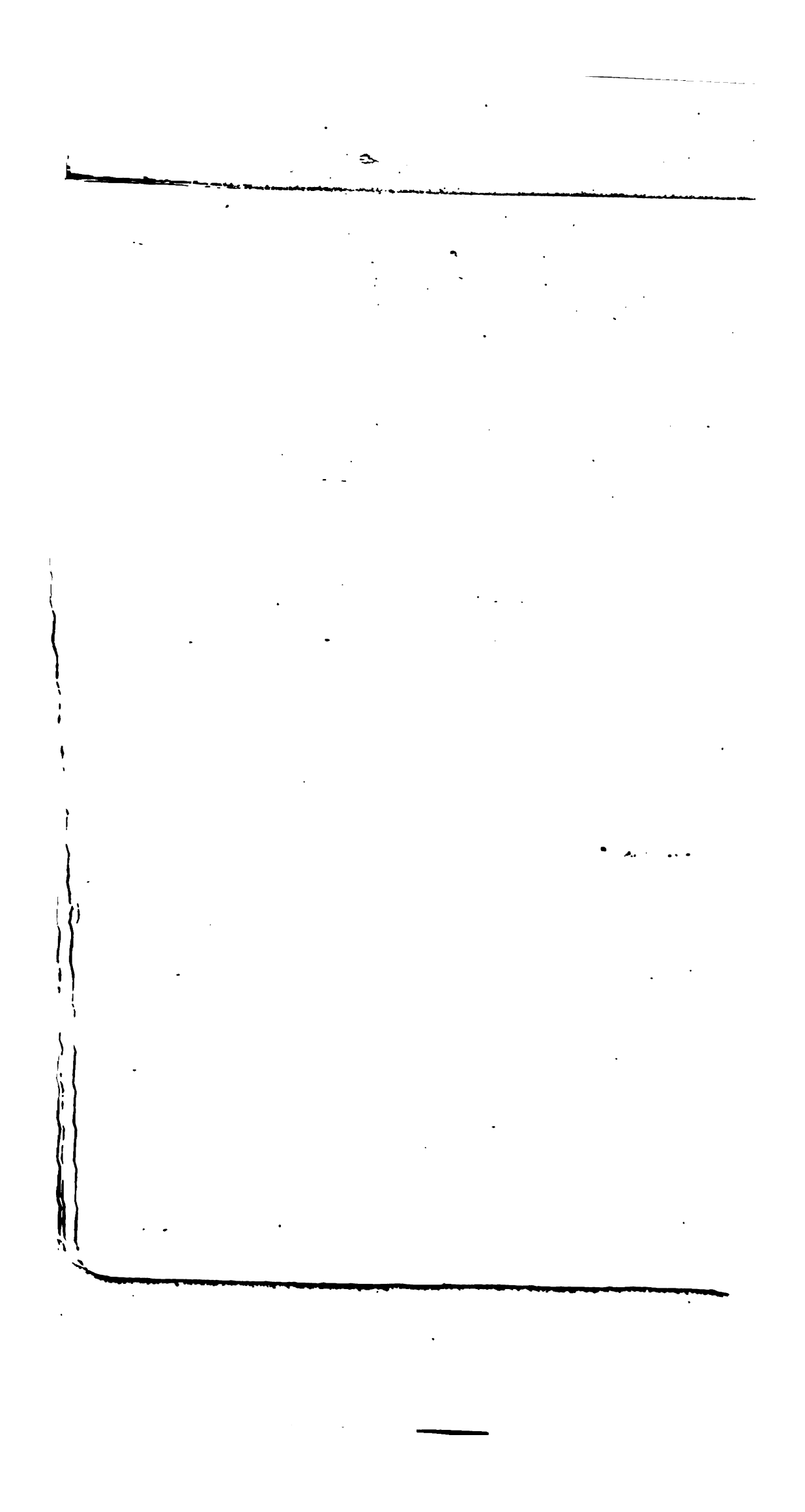
His merits as a public man are yet a matter of vehement discussion, and bid fair long to continue so. That he was a powerful speaker—unrivalled for the choice of his words, the lucid arrangement of his statements, the address and ingenuity of his arguments—appears to be universally granted. That he was a skilful financier—distinguished for the sagacity of his plans and the diligence with which he reduced them to practice—appears also to be granted, though less universally. But with regard to the wisdom of his foreign and domestic policy, there is no unanimity of opinion even among those best qualified to judge him. His friends have exalted his merits to the highest pitch of human excellence; his enemies have represented him as destitute of great ideas, a narrow seeker of temporary expedients, who sacrificed the cause of freedom to a love of place and kingly favour. No doubt there is much exaggeration in this.

The change of his political sentiments after his accession to authority is certainly a circumstance unfavourable to his general reputation; but the impartial observer will hesitate before adopting so mournful a solution of it. In this world of vicissitudes it is not necessarily owing to unsoundness of moral principle that the opinions of our first age cease to be those of our last. Mr. Pitt, in his twenty-fourth year, arrived at the highest station which a subject can hope for, without any viola-

tion of sincerity. It was natural that he should look on the business of reform with very different eyes when he viewed it as a Minister and as a popular orator—on the side of its benefits and on the side of its conveniences; that, as he gradually accustomed himself to the exercise of power, and grew in years, and influence, and strength of habits, the ardent innovator should pass by degrees into the wary Minister, for whom the machine of government was less a thing to beautify and improve than to keep moving with steadiness and quiet. There seems no need for more sinister imputations in all this, and Mr. Pitt's general conduct proved too well the independence of his mind to admit of such being formed. His treatment of Lord Shelburne, the total inattention he uniformly showed to personal profit or aggrandisement, should acquit him of such charges.

When the jarrings of Whig and Tory have given place to other causes of discord, as they succeeded others, a distant posterity will join the names of Pitt and his rival Fox to the names of the Chathams, the Oxenstierns, the Colberts, and other great statesmen of Europe; it will be for the same posterity to decide what rank they shall occupy in that august series—to trace with clearness the influence due to their actions, and assign to each the proper share of gratitude or blame. See "Giffard's Life of Pitt," "Tomline's Life," &c., &c., &c.

APPENDIX.



MONTUCLA.

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MONTUCLA (JEAN ETIENNE), a French mathematician of considerable note, was born at Lyons on the 5th of September 1725. Being early distinguished for his love of knowledge, he was placed under the tuition of the Jesuits, from whom he gained the elements of an extensive acquaintance with science and classical literature. At the age of sixteen he quitted their seminary for the purpose of studying law at Toulouse, and after the usual course of preparation, obtained a counsellorship in the Parliament of that city; but feeling little inclination for his employment, and meeting with little encouragement in the exercise of it, he renounced the Bar in 1753, and removed to Paris with the view of supporting himself by literary exertions. Soon after his arrival, being fortunately admitted to the society of d'Alembert and Diderot, their conversation gave a settled tendency to his pursuits, and he formed the project of that work, by which his name is so well known among men of science. At first, however, his efforts were limited to a lower department.

He wrote in the *Gazette Françoise*, and translated several works, one of which was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's report of the latest cases of inoculation at Constantinople. The utility of the practice, at that time (1756) about to be tried on a prince of the blood, was keenly discussed, and Montucla's translation appeared with advantage as an appendix to M. de la Condamine's Memoir upon this question. Two years before, a subject more akin to the bent of his mind had furnished Montucla with scope for original investigation; it was the *Histoire des Recherches sur la Quadrature du Cercle*, received with an applause well calculated to animate the author in his great undertaking, the *Histoire des Mathématiques*.

Lord Bacon justly thought that a rational account of the steps by which the mind had advanced to its actual proficiency in the several departments of philosophy might prove a work of great utility and entertainment. But though mathematical science is perhaps the only branch of human knowledge which has attained the degree of accuracy and precision requisite for executing such an enterprise, the task of giving anything like a regular narrative of the order and gradation, according to which the discoveries in that science had followed each other, seems to have been undertaken for the first time by M. de Montmort, the friend and fellow-labourer of Bernoulli. M. de Montmort, however, did not live

to complete his attempt; the materials which he had accumulated were entirely lost at his death, and Montucla had the undivided honour of supplying this desideratum. His work, in two volumes 4to, was published in 1758. The extensive acquaintance with the science, and the unwearied spirit of research which it displayed, were rewarded with universal applause; the defective arrangement and the rather inelegant style were forgotten in the general merits of the work, or excused from the difficulty of treating so new and intricate a subject. In its first shape the *Histoire des Mathématiques* extended only to the conclusion of the 17th century; but the author's diligence had not abated, and his promise of continuing the narrative to a later period was afterwards fulfilled.

In the meantime, however, his studies were impeded, though not suspended, by an appointment to the post of *Secretaire de l'Intendance* at Grenoble. His conduct in this office, which he held for three years, would seem to have given entire satisfaction, since, when M. Turgot was commissioned in 1764 to superintend the improvements which the Government were endeavouring to introduce at Cayenne, Montucla was nominated to accompany him in the character of secretary, dignified also with the title of Astronomer-Royal. Of Montucla's celestial observations we have no account, but the science of botany is indebted to

him for the knowledge of several equinoctial plants brought home on his return, which happened in 1766. After this short absence, he became chief clerk to the overseers of the king's buildings. In the discharge of that easy duty, Montucla enjoyed a competence, and found leisure to prosecute his inquiries concerning his favourite subject. The stormy factions which desolated France during the Revolution seem to have left him unharmed, till 1792, when his office was abolished by the Republican Government, and the historian of mathematics was left exposed in his old age to all the calamities of want. It is painful to relate that the man whose respectable character ought to have secured him esteem and patronage, even if his arduous labours in the cause of science had not benefited mankind, was unable to gain the necessaries of life except by consigning those talents which had illustrated the highest achievements of our species, to the management of a lottery-office! It was not till within a few months of his death that a scanty pension of one hundred pounds from the Government raised him above the miseries of abject poverty. But in the midst of these depressing circumstances Montucla did not forget his promise to complete the history of mathematics. Forty years of application had greatly augmented his knowledge of the subject; the second edition of his work, begun in 1798, was enriched with many new details in the period

before examined, and the relation might have been conducted with equal skill to the proposed termination, had not death put a stop to his exertions on the 15th of December 1799. Happily his manuscripts were in such a state as to be capable of publication. The printing of the first part was continued without interruption; and M. de la Lande, in 1802, arranged the remaining papers into two additional volumes, which continue the history to the beginning of the 19th century. Montucla was a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, and of the French Institute from its commencement. His manners are said to have been amiable, his disposition kindly and generous. The *Recrĕations Mathématiques et Physiques* of Ozanam, which he edited in 1778, is the only work connected with him that has been translated into English.

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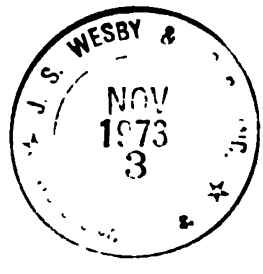
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